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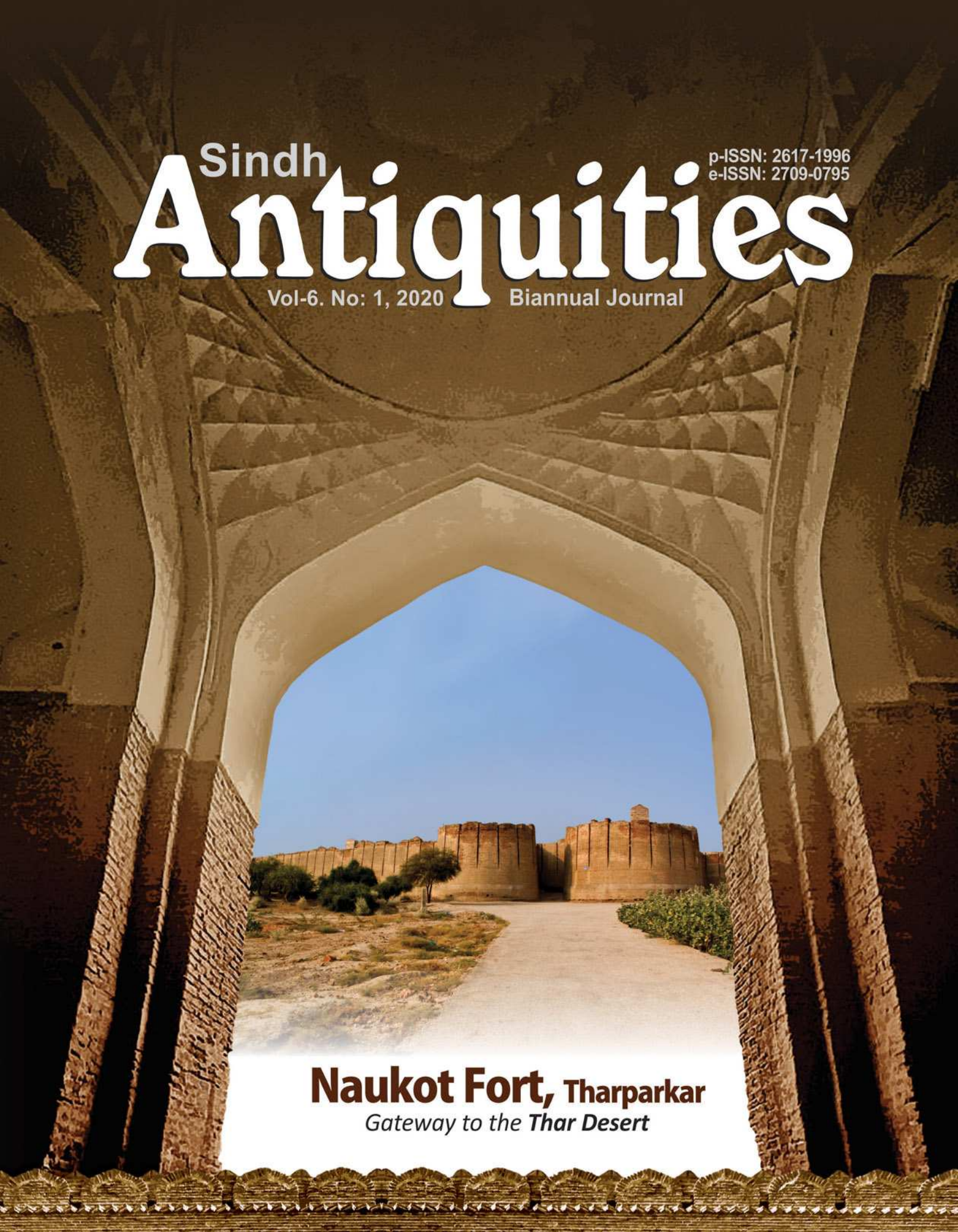

Naukot Fort, Tharparkar

*Gateway to the **Thar Desert***

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Information for Hon'ble Researchers & Scholars

The *Sindh-Antiquities*–is a bi-annual, scholarly, blind peer-reviewed journal, dedicated to the study of History, Archaeology, Museum and Heritage. The journal publishes the articles, covered the border aspects from prehistoric to colonial and post-colonial period, formal and informal modes of imperial expansion on Sindh (historic context), postcolonial heritage-building conservation/preservation project reports with transnational flux of ideas and concepts. However, it focuses primarily on the excavation/ survey reports which related to the history of Sindh. Sindh Antiquities–aims to provide a specialist scholarly forum of ideas relating to museums and architecture realms, as well. The journal also, encourage articles/ original research based on recent advancements and development in the field of Archaeology, Heritage & Museums at National and International level.

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Organization: The following organization is recommended for researcher and scholars:

1- Introduction: the purpose of the introduction is to answer the question: "Why did you start? State the study's objective and some review of the literature in the same field.

2- Materials or subjects and methods/histories: This section will deal with the methodology on which the research is based. Also, it should answer the question: "What did you do?" Describe the experimental design procedures and subject used. Give the detail only if the methods are original or essential for understanding; otherwise, give references and bibliography. Never mix discussion with this section or with the result section.

3- Results: Present the results with a minimum of discussion. Use tables, charts, map and Photographs to clarify the findings. Finally, check the statistics if mentioned.

4- Discussion: Point out the significance of the data and the limitations. Speculation should be clearly identified as such. Do not repeat the introduction in this section. Do describe the findings of the research briefly in the light of other reports, including opposing views, and is important in order to limit bias.

Format:

Manuscripts: Manuscripts should be original works and is recommended to be approximately 5,000 to 8,000 words. Longer manuscripts will be considered only in exceptional circumstances. Articles will be reviewed by the editors and will be forwarded for peer review upon their assessment. Every article should contain Abstract, Reference & Bibliography. Sindh-Antiquities- accepts manuscripts in English only.

Abstract: An abstract is required (150-200 words).

Keywords: between 4 to 5 keywords in English are required. Keywords in other languages can be added.

Illustrations
Authors are responsible for obtaining copyright clearance for the publication of any copyrighted material (photographs, drawings, etc.) that may be included in their contribution. Illustrations must be submitted both within the Microsoft Word document (with title and/or caption and copyright holder information) and sent separately. Minimum image size: 800 pixels width.

Bibliographic citations

All bibliographic citations in the essay must be in the footnotes. In the body of the essay itself there is only the note number; the reference should be in APA style.

The article should be submitted by complete Title of the article, the name(s) of the author(s) and affiliation (s). Figures/photographs should be numbered and titled consecutively with the source or reference. The author should indicate the approximate position of each figure in the text.

Research paper/articles, Thesis, Survey reports or related manuscripts for publication and correspondence should be sent to:

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Message

Syed Sardar Ali Shah

Minister for Culture, Tourism, Antiquities & Archives,
Government of Sindh

This is a time when COVID-19 has significantly changed our preferences and our ways of thinking. In that challenging time when we had multiple lockdowns, travel restrictions, our museums were shuttered, educational institutions and libraries were closed, and working from home was simply a temporary option, I would like to congratulate the Director-General, Antiquities & Archaeology Mr. Manzoor Ahmed Kanasro for continuing the publication of Sindh Antiquities.

The Sindh Antiquities is in its sixth year of publication, we provide an international forum to archaeologists, historians, architects, heritage managers, and scholars from widely different backgrounds to share their research and help us to develop a major database derived from archaeological and historical research. There is inevitably an interpretive perspective about the relationship of past, present, and future that need to be interrogated. There are of course gaps in dates and events that happened, but what they mean and how to read them is the job our researchers undertakes. We aim to shape global debates by addressing questions of broad significance. I would like to congratulate all the researchers and scholars as well who have contributed to this issue despite the troubling effects of the pandemic on research activities.

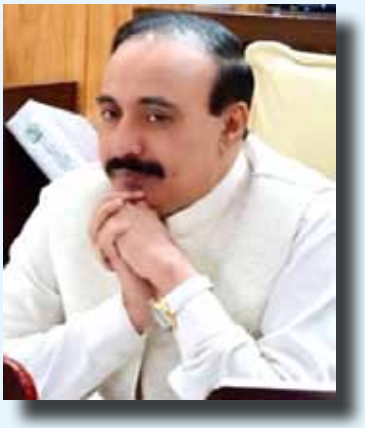
Message

Ghulam Akbar Laghari

Secretary for Culture, Tourism, Antiquities & Archives,
Government of Sindh

Sindh Antiquities is now a significant part of the Higher Education Commission of Pakistan's journal Recognition System. This is a multidisciplinary journal of archaeological, cultural, and historical studies concerning awareness of cultural heritage in a wide framework. Through research, excavation, and education we would like to contribute to a better understanding and preservation of the heritage. The academic contributions made to Sindh Antiquities are various and diverse, and we will welcome new topics and directions furthermore. The protection and promotion of Heritage protection is our aim on which intercultural dialogue can be constructed. Sindh Antiquities strongly support intercultural dialogue, exchange of knowledge, and new ideas. The discipline served by the journal is characterized by its goals and approach, not by geographical boundaries. The COVID-19 pandemic has slowed down the process of research and publication, but our Editorial team has worked effectively. I hope this issue will meet the needs of archaeologists, students, historians, and historical preservationists as well as practitioners of closely related disciplines and will promote dialogue among them.

Preface



Manzoor Ahmed Kanasro

Editor In-Chief
Director General Antiquities & Archaeology
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Government of Sindh

Digital Transformation of Heritage...a step toward Sustainable Future!

COVID-19 has changed the daily practice of cultural heritage organizations, government, and nongovernmental across the world. We unconsciously entered a digitalized world. All these changes combined provide insights into possible futures for digital cultural heritage. Although, we are not fully prepared to go digital and are still struggling with the essentials. However, the present scenario made us think to develop a new digital audience and connect the community. The Department is taking an initiative and have started digitalizing its museums, collection, and publications. These results will lead us to form a new policy and recommendations in the studies of cultural heritage. Soon we will introduce an online system for the submission of manuscripts to the Sindh Antiquities as well. This will speed up the submission and reviewing process, as well as will save the valuable time of our authors. They will then track their accepted articles through production, manage automated publication notices to colleagues, and more.

The Department welcomes comments on the recent initiatives. We hoped these will be considered in future revisions. We are inviting scholars to speak about issues they deeply care about, using this journal as a platform from which to argue for their own points of view.

Editorial

Zahida Quadri
Editor

It is difficult to imagine an organization or individual that has not been affected by the COVID 19 pandemic. It had a major impact on academic research and has limited the collaboration and communication infrastructure. Many traditional research activities were largely suspended. Publications on the other hand have been severely hit by the closing of office and printing houses. As an Editor of the journal, I also faced many delays. Now, when the activities have resumed after an unplanned and unprecedented stoppage, we are able to continue our Publications, and here is the first issue of Volume 6 of *Sindh Antiquities*.

Many people deserve some words of gratitude, especially our Panel of Referees for their cooperation and timely reviews, (sometimes the urgent reviews), our publication and designing team whose weekends even utilized in designing this volume, and also our distinguished authors for their patience in seeing it come to publication.

This volume tried to present a good range of topics. With the approval of the Editorial and the Advisory Board of Sindh Antiquities, we have broadened its scope and have revised our criteria for publication. The creation of new categories allows us to expand the variety of excellent research that we can consider for publication. It is therefore this issue contained some very interesting research findings related to archaeological discoveries, architectural theories, funerary architecture, and studies on art history thoroughly.

A paper on the historic state of *Paradan*, *Baluchistan* presents new data about the site. One heritage resource that has not been well studied is "*heritage lodging*". Studying Historic Hotels providing an interesting overview from the eyes of its visitors. This issue contained a small account of the role of Hotel Metropole in Karachi which is now decided to turn into a park for children and the elderly. The architectural values and education are correlated and very much linked with culture flourished in the surroundings. It has a well-established history of evolution. Islamic funerary architecture in this context, is yet another interesting field to study, although it raises some crucial and extremely difficult questions about the root causes of architecturally glorifying the dead. The section of architectural studies in the present volume with a set of information on cultural and educational theories discussed the function, values associated with them and the relationship between people and spaces. This issue also publishes essays and critical reviews on art. Examination of *Jaina* Paintings of *Nagarparker*, Themes, and styles of Turbans, and arm jewelry of *Gandhara* in this issue widen the understanding of art with different concepts, and meaning that contributed to our social, political, and spiritual life.

The present issue is an attempt to provide a wide range of approaches with a varied scope of topics. It is hoped that broaden the scope of the journal will make it more international and, diverse than ever before.

Naukot Fort Mithi, Tharparkar

Paras Mahmood Shah
Director/Conservator
Archives Conservation Laboratories
Karachi

Introduction:

Tharparkar, a barren desert land, scarce of water to many, a place to visit when it rains as it adorns a beautiful green cover after the monsoons, which attracts tourists to its famous Karoonjhar Hills. A beauty that it holds in the simplicity and vastness of its desert and the people inhabiting it, the abundance of naturals resources including granite and coal, its rich cultural diversity and the smooth projection of inter faith harmony. Most importantly being historically rich, is the attribute that shines like a jewel in the crown.An important seat for ancient Jain and Hindu religions, a hide and seek passageway for Mughal kings, Emperor Humayun to begin with being chased by Sher Shah Suri and as pathway to reach up till Multan and Kabul by many more Mughal kings to follow, the Birthplace of Emperor Akbar, the beautiful land assigned to the famous folklore of Umer and Marvi, even believed that Sultan Mehmood Ghaznavi had navigated himself through the area of Runn of Kutch when it was devoured by sea. The never ending tales of history this land holds apart from the beauty it clutches, holding deep conversations with the soul.

Naukot Fort:

Built in 1814 by Mir Karam Ali Talpur, during the reign of Talpurs over Sindh, it was constructed as a display of power, to keep Sodha Chiefs under control, or according to Atkins, to show the power and authority of their rule by Talpurs. Whatever the reason for its construction, its vastness,grandeur and superiority , from a far away distance, standing high amidst the barren plains of Thar, is still evident while passing by, due to which it is also regarded as a *Gateway to Mithi*.

Historical background:

The area of Thar during 1st Century AD, consisted of a famous town of Parinagar. A port city with a population of 40,000 people, appears to have been a large flourishing town and a bustling center, for trade. An arm of Runn of Kutch nearby confirms of it having been a dwelling port city, one can still

imagine the movement of boats consisting of merchandise from here. The decline of Parinagar is attributed to the land gaining on the sea and hence ceasing the Runn to be navigable. It vanished around 11th century AD.

While the authority over the rest of Sindh was being juggled between Sammas, Arghuns and Tarkhans, meanwhile Tharparkar for a long time was under the rule of Rajputs,who in 11th century lost it to the Soomras, won by Sodhas. Soomras after having lost control over Thatta, gained authority over Umerkot from the Sodhas, who were able to regain it after some time. Hence, Sodha chiefs from time and again, consistently remained in control of this vast desert, till the arrival of Kalhoras , followed by Talpurs and finally the British who took over.

In times of Talpur Rulers, Umerkot was under rule of Maharaja of Jodhpur, and other areas ruled by Sodha chiefs. A treaty was signed between the Maharaja of Jodhpur and Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur which maintained peace over the area till its use until 1813.

The command of Sodhas chiefs, however, dominant in other parts of Thar, excluding Umerkot, made an attempt to refuse the authority of Talpur Mirs, and refused to pay land tax to them, which they previously paid to their Kalhora chiefs. In order to exercise control over the mischievous activities of Sodhas, Mir Fateh Ali Khan was the first who started laying foundations of different forts across Tharparkar to keep an iron fist over the Sodha chiefs.Remains of most of these forts have vanished, however traces of some can still be seen at places. After the death of

Mir Ghullam Ali Talpur, Mir Karam Ali took over the reign in 1812.The construction of Naukot Fort is however attributed to the works of Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur and termed as comparatively the newest and larger in construction from the other forts built in Thar.

According to SM Reikes "In order to take Thar under control,they (the Talpurs) built forts and spent a lot of money, where their regiments would stay and keep control over the vast area"

There are different views regarding the purpose and usage of the fort. Primarily to keep enemies at bay, some historians also believe,that the ruling Mir, inspired by the simplicity of life in Thar, constructed it as his personal accommodation, which he used while his visit to Thar. However, it was constantly housing Talpur troops, safeguarding the area at all times.

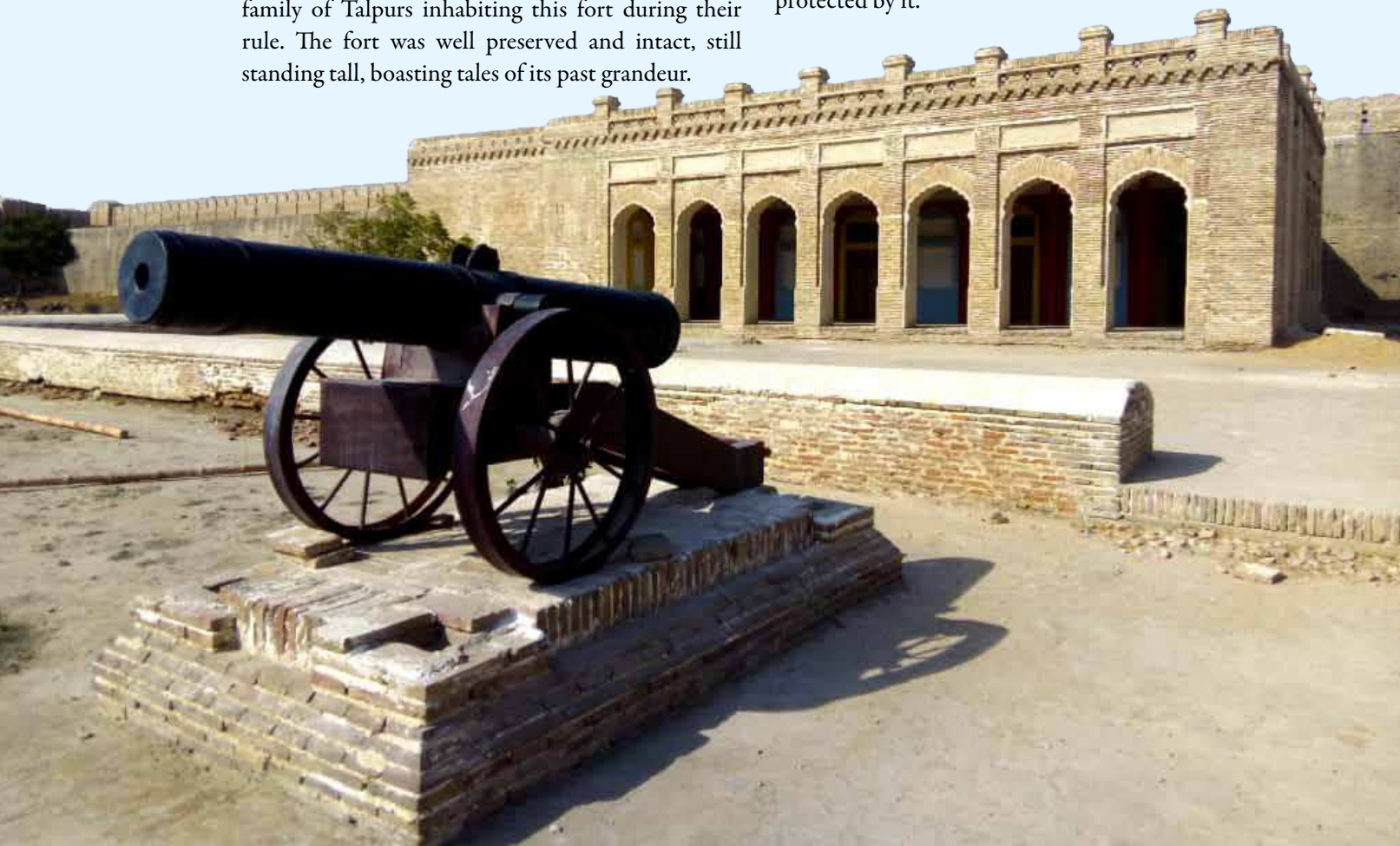
Construction Dynamics:

Consisting of a Shahi Darwaza (Grand Gate), Mukhi Darwaza, Banquettes and bastions, artillery area, and rooms for the residents as well as guards, an adequate source of water through wells, for the residents and family of Talpurs inhabiting this fort during their rule. The fort was well preserved and intact, still standing tall, boasting tales of its past grandeur.

Naukot fort is 63 kms South of Mirpurkhas and attributed as one of the **Desert forts**. With an approximate length of 640 feet and width 600 feet, it is constructed with baked bricks and mud mortar. The construction of the fort appears in shape of a square, built in a way that Historians claim would have been difficult to fall under attack by enemies.

Two types of bricks have been used for its construction. One is 1*6.6*9.6 inches in size whereas the other is tad smaller with measurement of 1*6.6*8.6 inches in length. While standing on one of its high projecting towers, a view of the area far and wide can be taken into account. The Fort is located at a strategic place which serves to be the center of many crossroads.

Entering through the Shahi Darwaza, protected by 2 large towers,a narrow area of only 11.10 feet is left to pass through to get in. From its south, the fort consists of another square area outside the main fort, with a measurement of 40*48 feet from the inside, a highly secure area, guarded at all times. This smaller compound also houses the Mukhi door, which is hidden behind the 30 feet tall eastern tower, safely protected by it.



Mukhi Door is approximately 22 feet in height and 12 in width, leading to guard resting areas built inside, who were probably responsible of allowing in visitors apart from guarding the door, making increasing the secure command over the entrance, as the troops stood on guard at all times. To further strengthen the entrance,12 feet wide walls ran through all four sides of the fort, containing the presence of guards to prevent the fort from attacks. According to a survey conducted in 1982, this area seemed to be damaged due to accumulation of rainwater, later repaired.

Entrance to fort goes through a 12 feet wide inner door, and leads through a 20 feet wide covered passageway, which holds places for guards to sit and stairs to approach its bastions.

Traces of small rooms allowing no light or ventilation have been found beneath the protection walls. Constructed of bricks, 18*18 in size, close to the Southern wall, these rooms are believed to have been used as Barood Khaanas, for storage of ammunition and gunpowder. Some sources claim these rooms to be prison cells, due to the presence of metal bolts on the roof, but we do not have much evidence to support the idea . Construction of similar rooms have also been found in Ranikot Fort.

Historians have quoted that the guards and soldiers protecting the fort did not have particular uniforms. They used excellent guns and artillery. However, it took time to reload the guns.

The fort in time of its construction consisted of hundreds of embrasures with close proximity to each other, with a distance of approximately 8 feet between them, for aiming the guns while remaining undercover. The embrasures each measure 9 inches in height and 7 inches in width, not only to point guns but also to view the area for possible attacks. Due to lack of maintenance over a long period, most of the embrasures have diminished, except for one visible on one of the bastions near Mukhi Door. To welcome the rule of Mir Karam Ali Khan Talpur, canons were charged and fired from here.

The fort consists of a total of 9 bastions, four on each corner, two of which guard the entrance and the Mukhi door and three in the middle of Southern, Northern and Western walls. All are semicircular in shape, standing tall and strong, thick at bottom, and taper down as they proceed in height. Also consist of spillways for water.

The residents of the fort had ample drinking water available. Traces of natural running water found around the area support the idea. This area had presence of passing Hakro river, which later changed its course. Signs of groundwater have also been found, due to the passing river in ancient times, which are now no longer drinkable due to its bitter taste. Evidence of a well have been found inside the fort which supplied water for its residents.

Naukot Fort consisted of a number of residential rooms, now in ruins. The walls of these residential quarters consisted of areas for storage, with designs of plaster on shelves and doors for beautification purposes. The rooms were strategically made, interconnected with one and other and an outer door for entrance and exit. This arrangement was made for

protection of the residents. Historians claim that the ruling Mirs stayed in the residential rooms among which, Mir Sher Khan was a frequent visitor and many a times held court inside the fort.

Inside the small passageways of inner door are the guards rooms. To protect the main door at all times. These rooms have traces of mehrabs and windows 2*3 feet in size according to a survey conducted in 1959, now traces of window are gone.

Apart from being a display of strength and excellent safeguarding dynamics, the fort appeared to be a strong hold for the Talpur rulers who were frequent visitors and kept the area well under control. After the death of Mir Karam Ali, Mir Tharro took control, and later Mir Sher Mohd came to authority, who paid close attention to Thar. The arrival of the British marks the overtaking of the remaining forts, including Naukot. They deployed their Magistrates and Superintendents in the area, who were also given command of the forts. They further appointed Sodha chiefs, on high ranks to look over the fort, a regiment of sepoys were deployed, Sodhas were given jobs, pieces of lands and land tax was wavered, hence they were able to reclaim their lost power and dignity in the area.

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Social Role Played By Hotel Metropole As Reflected In Paid Advertisements in Daily Dawn, Karachi

Kaleemmullah Lashari, PhD, S I

Hotel Metropole.

Abstract

The Metropole hotel of Karachi came on the highest category of hotels in the mid of 20th century, which is no more functional now. The Metropole Hotel was the one where every traveler preferred to stay as it not only provided short-term accommodation, which may be considered as its assigned role, but it was socially connected with the multifarious activities. It was sorted after by families as it offered different types of games and activities where families used to get involved. It was the place where the programs of Dancing, Musical events, programs, marriage ceremonies, etc were organized. There are various hotels in Karachi but most of the International Airlines had their glamourous offices around Metropole, besides that in the hotel there were Bookshops, a hairdresser, beauty shops, Gift Shop, Dry cleaners, and the post office also, it added value to the hotel. The Metropole was used for the high-level meetings, workshops & Seminars. The Christian community had used this place for their events, there such as Christmas celebrators as well as we see their activities reflected in recollection of the senior members, one, in particular was held in the Hotel Metropole in the year 1956

The paper discusses the heydays of Karachi and its hold Metropole. The article is mainly based on the material published in Daily DAWN Karachi.

KEYWORDS: Karachi, Metropole hotel of Karachi, Hotel History, sedentary cultures.

Introduction

Interestingly the hotels are an important part of life, may these be the rural Inns or today's newest concept of seven-star luxuries. These have been present since the early centuries of sedentary cultures. We have much-romanticized knowledge of the medieval period Inns, these be in the midst of the towns or be on the desolate highways, it has contributed much to the safety of the caravan goods and has provided solace to the scared wayfarers.

The hotels gradually and slowly grew with the expansion of civilization; these are not the only witness to the growth of the cities but had their part to play in the provisions of urban facilities. Of lately these have helped the megacities to shed-off their unbearable pressures and made life smoother for the luxury-loving, all too important dignitaries, not to abhor being away from the comforts of their homes, on necessary assignments, but rather look forward to undertaking the travel.

It is playing its role of providing short-term accommodation, which may be its assigned role, additionally, it is knit-well in day toady life, and is directly related to the multifarious social needs. The present-day hotels may have shed much of their basic role of providing the necessary shelter to the all too needy traveler, these have become the service providers of all sorts, be it the IT & Business Centre, Party place, hosting Banquets, operating Gyms, Swimming Pools, dating havens, arranging Conference/Seminar, and are no doubt nucleus to what not.

The hotels in Karachi have grown with the town; initially, the troops & officers arriving in the tiny town had the relief when they could secure births in the cantonment, officers' Mess could be a great relief; the impression of new arrivals in Karachi was 'not

a bad place at all [1]. Keith Young however narrated his encounter with Sir Charles Napier, when he was laid up with rheumatic fever '...looking certainly uncomfortable with a dirty blanket over him[2].

Since then, quite impressive progress was made, the growing town did keep pace breathlessly with the expanding British Empire. The Bristol Hotel was there to look after the Commuters of the North Western Railways, the Circuit House, located on the Brunton Road, looked after the Colonial Officials, and frequent spillover was accommodated in the Palace Hotel, situated nearby. The small landlords were comfortable in Sindh Zamindar Hotel and Jagirdar Hotel, the petit-bourgeoisie, and the working intelligentsia was satisfied with the Moulo Mussafirkhana, which was not at all a mean habitat. It was designed by the famous Architect of Karachi J. Strachan, he is introduced by Noorani as Architect of Empress Market, 'James Strachan of Great Indian Peninsular & Bombay and Baroda Railways[3]. He in fact worked as Secretary of Karachi Municipality and its Engineer, the prolific architect, his contributions to architecture in Karachi are widely acknowledged,' his water supply scheme and sewerage was the great contribution to the city;[4] a plaque on old encroached building of the Mussaferkhana reads 'the Dharamshala for poor travelers was built at the joint cost of Haji Mahammad Mouledina and Karachi Municipality, 1893, J. Strachan M.I.C.B. Architect.' It subsequently became famous as *Moulo-Mussaferkhana,* with the shortened name of the government Contractor, who had partially contributed towards its costs. This building was an awe-inspiring sight; it can still be stunning if cleared of unwarranted encroachments.

The massive destruction caused by the two great wars and the resulting economic depression proved to be a major setback to the travel business. The 1950s witnessed a slow and steady growth of travel on the European continent[5] and also throughout the former areas under the British Raj. It saw the emergence of concerns for the quality of service.

The standardization and quality concerns made the experimentation possible, as the diversity in services and facilities provided by each hotel makes it quite difficult to have any single basis of classification of hotels[6]. These were the times when the world was already cherishing the inception of the modern hotels, those were not simply the rooms and dining halls. The hotel had come of the age, and it was throwing open the facilities of the diverse kind, previously not considered the essential part of the hotel[7].

The newly independent country had some good investment opportunities opening up saw the inception of new business in the hospitality business. The 'government was anxious to develop a plan for the city of Karachi that was in keeping with its position as a capital of Pakistan (Hasan 1999)[8]. This emphasis could be felt in matters where even the private enterprises were sympathetically looked at. One could see the names of the top brass on the plaques, denoting the laying of foundations stone, or the inauguration, of these private enterprises.

The foundation stone for Beach Luxury Hotel was laid down by the highest public office in the Province

1 Colonel Keith Young, *Scinde in the Forties*, Indus Publications, Karachi, 1994 (Reprint), p.7)

2 Ibid p.12-3.

3 Asif Noorani, 'Saddar of fifties and sixties,' in *Karachi: Mega City of Our Times*, Hamida Khuhro, & Anwar Mooraj (eds.), 2011(2nd ed.)

4 Ibid, p.243

5 tourismnotes.com *(accessed on 28th March 2021)*

6 Hotel rating, *From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia; accessed on 25 March 2021*;

7 Types of Hotels, *January 22nd, 2020|tourism*

8 Arif Hasan, *Understanding Karachi: Planning & Reform for the Future*, City Press, Karachi, 1999, & 2002, p.25.

Beach Luxury was opened up the next year for the guests to stay, the opening ceremony was performed by the premier of Sindh, it is an indication of the importance this sector was accorded

Karachi saw Beach Luxury and Metropole Hotels as a wonderful introduction to the cityscape. The unique and spacious location by the side of the creek, which had then not been the refuge of the city's untreated sewer as yet was a life-infusing experience. The classical orders at the all-welcoming entrance of the Hotel Metropole were a very alluring site. The centrally placed hotel had all that was desired, a secure cozy interior, tasteful restaurant, reasonably furnished rooms, and a refreshing open central courtyard.

Karachi at this time was described very well by an American Journalist, who happened to have stayed in East as well as West Pakistan, in one of her articles as " a city of distinction with modern methods of communication and transport, offering the comforts of great western-style hotels, restaurants, night clubs, and sports facilities. A huge racecourse and clubs catering to tennis players, the swimming crowds and cocktail set"[9].

Karachi had six first-class hotels, the highest category to be assigned in the pre-5-star Hotel concept period, and the 'Metropole was the largest of all'[10]. It had beautiful rooms to accommodate five hundred guests. Air conditioning was in, as the required facility here.

If we look at the accounts there is not much information about the Metropole; a wonderful essay on Saddar of the fifties and sixties[11] gives an overview of the Saddar and its atmosphere, its physical landmarks, but understandably nothing is said about the hotel we are discussing here. Likewise, the fine work *Understanding Karachi*, by Arif Hasan informs us about the city and its development, the hotel is obviously cannot find its mention there[12].

A lively account of Karachi of these decades is by Ramzan Baloch, he describes the tendencies of socializing among young men having leanings towards left, he too is short of getting in and describing the atmosphere there[13]. To have a feel at the pulse of the times we turned our gaze to one of the dailies from Karachi; it brought us in contact with the hotel Metropole, as it was perceived, one of the writeups described it as the *complete world in itself* where the alluring flower ring grounds provided the green setting, people can dine in the night under the stars, and an orchestra played for dancing, at no extra charges[14].

Most of the International Airlines had glamorous offices around Metropole Hotel[15]; in the hotel there was the excellent Bookshop, a hairdresser, beauty shop, gift shop, dry cleaners, and Post Office, besides the Lloyds Bank and two Chemists[16].

The Canadian High Commission occupied almost half of the second floor. There were Doctors and dentists of renown; few of them lived there. Interestingly sometimes they had room for the tourists. There were numerous other offices.

The gentle *Minwalla* spent more time here than at his home, he was very mindful of the comfort of the guests, his motto seemed to be how to keep everyone happy, the highest flag to hoist in the service industry[17].

The charming staff was eager to serve, they went out of their way to set standards of high service, polite but rigidly entrenched in the values of their folks.

The rates started at rupees 33 for charges per day, all-inclusive, the Hotel Beach Luxury matched these; while the Palace, Central, Columbus, and Excelsior had rates starting from rupees 18 per day.

9 Camille Mirepoix, published her impressions of the Hotel Metropole in an article in Daily DAWN, Karachi, in 1959; it was later part of her book Now Pakistan, Grenich Books, Karachi 1967, pp. 28-31

10 The Intercontinental Hotel opened its operations in Karachi by 1964; Ibid, p.25

11 Noorani, 'Saddar in fifties and sixties,' in , *Karachi: Megacity of our Times*, Hamida Khuhro, & Anwer Mooraj (eds.), Oxford, Karachi 1997 & 2010, pp.241-257

12 Arif Hasan, 1999.

13 Ramzan Baloch, *Lyari kee un Kahee Kahanee*, Raheel Publications, Karachi 2017, p.182].

14 This picture emerges from various advertisements, appearing in Daily *Dawn*, Karachi sees various references hereafter; also, Mirepoix, referenced hereabove.

15 The number of the advertisements appearing in Daily Dawn, Karachi.

16 Mirepoix, p.32.

17 Ibid p.29.

The area atmosphere could be described with modesty as the dream world, in the next block there was a beauty shop with John taking care of the needs, Tailor Shop, and PIA Head Office, where the booking staff was efficiently taking care, 'without wearing veils'.

Beautiful Frère Hall surrounded by the immense gardens was at that time housing the National Museum. It contained valuable artifacts, very important Buddhist sculpture pieces, giving a fairly good idea of the cultural richness and diversity of Pakistan. Victoria Road opened up the Bazars matching the ones in Arabian Nights, "please step in for Original Persian Rugs.....here come to see the Brass.... " was the routine hum[18].

APWA outlet brought the simple utility and beauty of embroidery to the attention of the pedestrians. The Bohri Bazar streets crisscrossing were home to all poorest of all and the rich, all vying with each other to have the colorful bangles, articles studded with the stones, shells, and Damascened to provide the oriental touch[19].

THE HOME TO MUSIC & DANCE

Things were happening, the music was becoming international, various bands were traveling, concerts were the new attractions, and these were not required to go to the Garrison Authorities for seeking the venues for performance. The Military had its days of Brass and Bagpipes and with swollen chests full of a sense of self-importance they needed nothing more to offer. The private bands were sufficiently busy to provide the entertainment to the wedding and circumcision functions.

The world was seeing the inception of novel trends, artists' commitment, and their trendy performances were internationally acclaimed. The newspapers were running regular columns covering the last evenings' performances. The announcements were also substantiated with the reference in the Engagements slot of the newspapers.

Guess where these performances were happening?

Metropole was the prime venue, the best artists from all over the world were coming to Karachi and giving the best of their performances.

Social Scene

The social scene presents a very involving Hotel Metropole, the Idd Gala was one attraction organized by the house, and could be attended by booking or otherwise by showing up, subject to availability of the table on that day, that might not happen as Ami was to present her 'Oriental Dance' that was titled as "Into & Marlene"[20]. Mike was there with these latest compositions, the booking could be done on phone, and everyone knew the number of the hotel 6051 by heart.

AT
HOTEL METROPOLE
IDD GALA
on SATURDAY the 5th JUNE 1954
AMI IN HER ORIENTAL DANCES
in the enchanting METROPOLE GARDEN
Enjoy the Cool Water fall & Colourful lighting
TO ENTERTAIN YOU
TINO & MARLENE
AT THE
MIKE WITH NEW SONGS & HIS ORCHESTRA WITH
THE LATEST DANCE-MUSIC
COMING VERY SHORTLY
The dancing Stars of Radio City New York & the Savoy
Hotel, London. These talented artistes have appeared in
eleven films of Paramount, Warner Bros. & United
International.
ST. CLAIR & DAY

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 1 June 1954, p. 8

18 Ibid, pp.39-40.
19 Ibid, p.40.
20 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 1 June 1954, p. 8

The occasion required due courtesy as well, Evening or National Dress was essential[21]. The performance was a great success; the weekend (Saturday, 5 June) was memorable.

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 3 June 1954, p. 14

It was not all, on 10th June came the Stars of Radio City, New York and the Savoy Hotel, London St. Clair and Day, to perform for next few days, they were the film stars also[22].

THE MOST POPULAR FLOOR SHOW EVER TO APPEAR IN KARACHI
AT
HOTEL METROPOLE
ACCLAIMED BY ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE
THE SPECTACULAR
ST. CLAIR & DAY
DANCERS EXQUISITE
IN A PROGRAMME OF POLISHED TECHNIQUE & DARING
DO NOT MISS THEIR PRESENTATIONS
EVERY TUESDAY, THURSDAY & SATURDAY
POPULAR TINO & HIS ORCHESTRA
BOOK YOUR TABLE EARLY
Dress: EVENING or NATIONAL

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 8 June 1954, p. 8

This was the most popular of all 'Floor Shows', which had happened in Karachi, till that time[23],

21 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 3 June 1954, p. 14

22 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 8 June 1954, p. 8

23 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 15 June 1954, p. 8

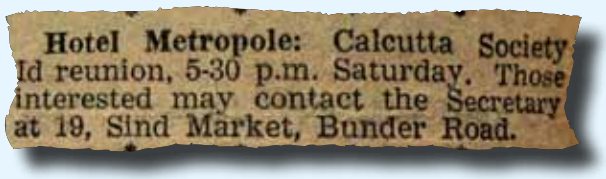
THE MOST POPULAR FLOOR SHOW EVER TO APPEAR IN KARACHI
AT
HOTEL METROPOLE
ACCLAIMED BY ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE
THE SPECTACULAR
ST. CLAIR & DAY
DANCERS EXQUISITE
IN A PROGRAMME OF POLISHED TECHNIQUE & DARING
DO NOT MISS THEIR PRESENTATIONS
EVERY TUESDAY, THURSDAY & SATURDAY
POPULAR TINO & HIS ORCHESTRA
BOOK YOUR TABLE EARLY
Dress: EVENING or NATIONAL

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 15 June 1954, p. 8

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 19 June 1954, p. 8

the audiences were most enthusiastic in their appreciation[24]. The artists then changed the theme of their performance in the next few performances[25].

The different professional bodies, work associations, social groups, etc. were eagerly waiting for the occasion to go active; here was the place to be most sorted after, with the beautiful waterfall and airy garden. *The Calcutta Association's* Idd Reunion was a regular event, in the year 1954 on *Iddul-Fitre* they once again met in the garden of the Hotel at 5.30pm[26] and the sitting lasted for three hours.


Hotel Metropole: Calcutta Society
Id reunion, 5-30 p.m. Saturday. Those
interested may contact the Secretary
at 19, Sind Market, Bunder Road.

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 2 June 1954, p. 4

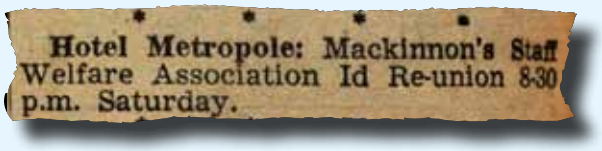
24 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 17 June 1954, p. 8

25 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 19 June 1954, p. 8

26 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 2 June 1954, p. 4

Social Circles

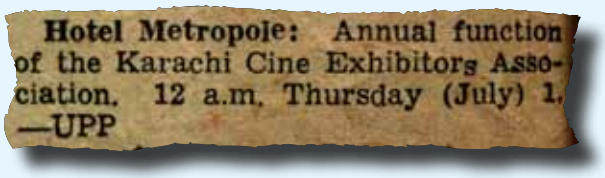
The *Mackennon's Staff Welfare Association* Re-Union[27] followed them at 8.30 pm; they sat longer and were happy as it was a weekend.


Hotel Metropole: Mackinnon's Staff Welfare Association Id Re-union 8-30 p.m. Saturday.

Advertisement published in Dawn, by the Mackinnon's Staff Welfare Association

Federal University Student Association organized their Re-Union on 21st June in the late afternoon. We hear that in the subsequent years to this Association was active and remained committed to upholding the same high standards of arrangements, in the year 1956 they organized the Idd Re-Union on 119th July in the late afternoon. Mr. Wahab Siddiqui, Mayor of Karachi was the Chief Guest[28] they organized a Variety Program on August 4th, the event was a great success as the Pakistani dances were performed, many members of the foreign embassies also performed folk dances, the regional songs were quite popular. We see them returning very soon to organize another 'Variety Program' on 7th September 1956. The event was scheduled for 6th but was changed to 7th presumably to accommodate more entertainment.

Karachi Cine Exhibition Association was the most active organization with much entertainment up their sleeves, their Annual function happened on 1st July, understandably late in the evening[29].


Hotel Metropole: Annual function of the Karachi Cine Exhibitors Association. 12 a.m. Thursday (July) 1. —UPP

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 29 June 1954, p. 4

There were other social groups involved in softening the hard routine of daily life; wasn't it exciting and also enticing enough to get the more serious and business like *Jamsheed Nusservanji Memorial Fund Committee* to be there as well. The fund organized a variety program on Nov 20, 1054, the one that was remembered long afterward by those who happened to have seen the Spanish Fiesta Trio.

Come December there were festivities related to Christmas, the Hotel's Christmas Week Programs were studded with small and big events, culminating the Christmas Eve Gala.

Children's Christmas Party was another regular feature, participated by the young children not over the age of 12 years that included fancy dress competition also. Santa Claus cannot be missed, he being the one dispensing the gifts, to fulfill his responsibility.

Miss Eileen Cromer was also there to play her part in the programs. Amazingly the sports were not forgotten in such festivities, the 26th December saw a great deal of talent in the big Boxing Day event.

The Cuban bar curiosities were not to be missed when the Cuban Tropics were reflected very loudly in the Cuban Music evenings.

The festivities of the New Year celebrations were over, that was the time when more serious works were undertaken. The Photographic Society of Pakistan organized the 1st joint exhibition of Photographic Arts of Great Britain and Pakistan, for which the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain had collaborated[30].

The contest and crowning of the *Miss Airways 1959* was a big event, the Aero News organized it, at the Hotel on 4th February.

The celebrity of the Piano Music Peter Cooper visited Karachi and performed at Karachi; the pianoforte recital enthralled the audiences on the late evening of 5th March 1959.

The Japanese interests were getting more visible in the sixties; the visiting Trade Delegation was entertained in Hotel Metropole, on 8th February 1967.

Another body, that was very active on the social and literary scene was the Advertisers and Publishers Club, they organized the monthly dinners. In one such dinner outstanding scholar and the staunch supporter of Urdu Dr. Moulvi Abdul Haq also spoke[31].

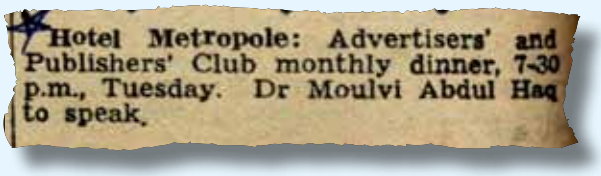
27 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 3 June 1954, p. 6

28 *The Karachi University Old Student Association* was not lagging behind, we see their activities reflected in recollection of the senior members, one, in particular, was held in the Hotel Metropole in the year 1956.

29 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 29 June 1954, p. 4

30 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 25 Jan; 1959, Karachi, p.6

31 Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 28 Nov,


Hotel Metropole: Advertisers' and Publishers' Club monthly dinner, 7-30 p.m., Tuesday. Dr Moulvi Abdul Haq to speak.

Advertisement Published in Daily DAWN, 28 Nov 1954, p. 8

Art Scene

The painters and the artists were other phenomena of modern-day life, Karachi had suffered greatly for the lack of any art school, it has neither the gifted artist of its own nor the business was such that required the flourishing painting business, the only avenues available were Cinema signposts and the printmaking, that was used in the print business.

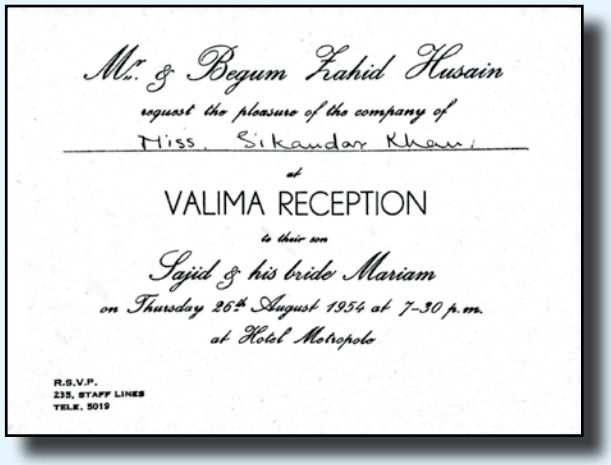
The emerging painters were the direct result of the colonial experience; thus a great new happening was there, but how could this experience be shared? The city had no art galleries, no studios of sufficient space to accommodate ten-odd canvasses with reasonable spacing; look what a lovely outlet was made available, by the suitably situated Hotel Metropole.

Dance is rightly dubbed as the soul's way of performance, expression of ecstasy, the ultimate show of the body's harmony with the soul, and an experience to be shared so easily with the audiences. But was there a venue available to bring the performers and the audiences together?

The Parties

The *Shamiana* was still the mainstay of the community, all important events were there getting the feel of the street, afflicted with the physical limitations, the guests were graciously adoptive to these conditions, but the hosts were always mindful of these, often embarrassed they were anxiously awaiting the solution of this problem.

That was the reason many family events, with sizeable participation, were held at the Hotel. Zahid Sahib's family functions were held here, he was the Governor State Bank. Mr. Justice Nasir Aslam Zahid fondly recalls the wedding of his brother, the *Valima* party took place there, on 26th August 1954; as a custom, almost all the bigger events were held at the hotel.


Mr. & Begum Zahid Husain
request the pleasure of the company of
Miss. Sikandar Khan
at
VALIMA RECEPTION
to their son
Sajid & his bride Mariam
on Thursday 26th August 1954 at 7-30 p.m.
at Hotel Metropole
R.S.V.P.
235, STAFF LINES
TELE. 5019

Diplomatic Scene

The hotel was the station where many diplomatic corps' activities were taking place; the *German Reading Room* was the predecessor of the Goethe Institute here. It organized activities regularly on diverse topics, mostly cultural and academic.

The performances and programs were on diverse topics, covering different fields, on 4th July the *Botanical Films* were screened at 7.30 pm; this event was of special value as it reflected the great potential of the research and its presentation in the field.

German Reading Room, Hotel Metropole: Botanical films, 7-30 p.m. Wednesday.

The next event on 25th July was the interesting recording of the music by Robert Schumann. Mr. Kahle introduced it. August 8, 1956, there was a good talk on the Research related to Islam in Germany. On 12th followed Dr. Schrelterer's talk on *Technical Education and Training in Germany*, at 7.30.

The Light Music from Berlin was the focus of the next event at the Reading Room, on Wednesday, September the 5th.

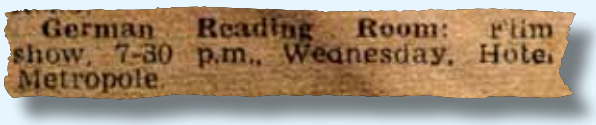
German Reading Room: Recorded light music from Berlin 7-30 p.m. Wednesday, Hotel Metropole.

The next lecture by W Krieg was very interesting as it covered the Industry of German Motorcycles, it was held on 26th September 1956.

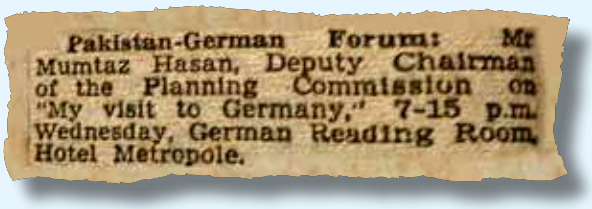
1954, p. 8

The Reading Room was one of the most frequented places, as it covered diverse topics and helped open the new grounds of knowledge and understanding regarding the German Society and its culture as well as economic development. Every Wednesday there was an event, be it the music, movie, lecture, or exhibition. This also provided the platform to the German Language Association, which was an active body, organizing language classes, having activities like trips and parties, welcoming or bidding farewell to the teachers/guests etc.

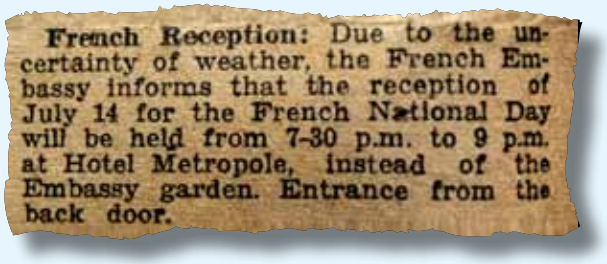
In the year 1958, we saw quite a good number of German movies screened at the Room; one such was held on 2nd July.


German Reading Room: Film show, 7-30 p.m., Wednesday, Hotel Metropole.

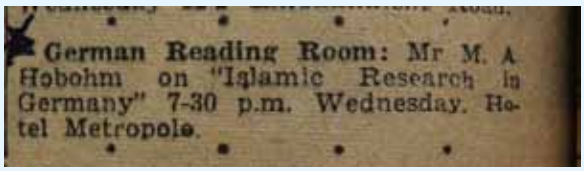
It was the Annual Dinner of the Pakistan German Forum on 25th July same year, which was followed by the General Body meeting. The Forum was most active and it involved a good number of the businessmen and also the high officials; we know that many events were organized by the Forum, one such took place on 12th August 1959 in which Mr. Mumtaz Hassan gave a very absorbing talk; he spoke about his experience during the visit to Germany, he at that time was the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission of Pakistan.


Pakistan-German Forum: Mr Mumtaz Hasan, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission on "My visit to Germany," 7-15 p.m. Wednesday, German Reading Room, Hotel Metropole.

The *embassies* were mostly vying for the venue, the "Fall of Bastille", the National day of France, falling on 14th of July was celebrated, in the year 1956, in the Hotel, the program was largely attended, the Begum and the President of Pakistan Sikander Mirza, Mrs. and Mr. I.I Chandrigar and others. The elite of the city was prominently represented. Due to weather uncertainty arrangements were made to lead the guests through the back entrance.


French Reception: Due to the uncertainty of weather, the French Embassy informs that the reception of July 14 for the French National Day will be held from 7-30 p.m. to 9 p.m. at Hotel Metropole, instead of the Embassy garden. Entrance from the back door.

The Polish Trade Commissioner held the reception on the occasion of the Liberation of the Polish People on 22nd July 1956. The visiting Czechoslovak Business delegation was entertained on Tea in the garden of the Hotel, on the 8th August 1956. Again a local businessman entertained the delegation at a party on 11th.


German Reading Room: Mr M. A Hobohm on "Islamic Research in Germany" 7-30 p.m. Wednesday. Hotel Metropole.

It is an endless list of happening every year, the life of Karachi revolved around the Hotel, and those who attended these events, be it entertainment, social gathering, business-related meeting, group association, hobby club, diplomatic event, lecture, film screening, art show, Idd or Christmas celebrations, weddings or any other happening had a clear memory of that happening, the experience remained with them; it was the part of their living memory, and still, it is there. It experienced Karachi, related to the everyday life, the essence of living in an urban setting, sharing an experience without falling into any category, individual yet a cumulative experience that is cherished as living in the emerging metropolis.

Conclusion

To peep back in times, the newspapers can be a relevant source of information, in many cases; the present writeup has proved it in the case of a commercial hotel, operating in the city of Karachi. It was a fit case where the elite, middle class and the lower middle class could gather and participate in multi-pronged activities. The imaginative and business-minded management was alive to the emerging civic needs, for which space was provided on a commercial basis. In the present case, we saw the emergence of a new type of hotel, which had space for every conceivable social activity. Resultantly the picture emerged, which helps the reader to have glimpses back in time and can follow the dynamic vibes of the fifties to early seventies, in the emerging megapolis of Pakistan.

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3. *Camille Mirepoix, published her impressions of the Hotel Metropole in an article in Daily DAWN, Karachi, in 1959; it was later part of her book Now Pakistan, Grenich Books, Karachi 1967, pp. 28-31*

4. *Colonel Keith Young, Scinde in the Forties, Indus Publications, Karachi, 1994 (Reprint), p.7)*

5. *Daily DAWN, Karachi, Various issues of the newspaper, as reflected in the references & notes.*

6. *Hotel rating, From Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia; accessed on 25 March 2021;*

7. *Ramzan Baloch, Lyari kee un Kahee Kahanee, Raheel Publications, Karachi 2017, p.182].*

8. *Tourismnotes.com (accessed on 28th March 2021)*

9. *Types of Hotels, January 22nd, 2020|tourism*

Tracking the Kingdom of Pāradān in Balochistan Through Contextualization of the Early Historic/ Buddhist Material Culture from Systematic Archaeological Survey at District Loralai, Pakistan

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Abstract:[1]

Balochistan is known generally for the Neolithic and Pre-Harappan cultures within the archaeology of South Asia. The region has not been incorporated within the discourse on the spread and development of Buddhism or Buddhist material cultures. Our systematic transect survey at Tehsil Bori of District Loralai revealed 26 archaeological sites. The survey produced 13 multi-periods and 8 single-period sites, including 6 Kot Dijian and 5 Harappan sites. All multi-period sites, except one, had early historic/Buddhist material culture. These sites were located within two distinct landscape and altitudinal settings. The presence of a relatively large number of Buddhist sites in the Balochistan and adjoining regions likely corresponds to the geographical extent of the poorly studied early historic state of Pāradān, with Loralai as the core region.

Key words: Tehsil Bori; Loralai District; Buddhism in Balochistan; Transect Survey; Systematic Survey; Settlement History; Buddhism; Historic Pottery; Stamped Ware; Rope Ware; Pāradān; Pāratarajas;

Introduction

Balochistan is the largest province of Pakistan in terms of land area and primarily consists of barren and thinly populated areas with abundant natural and cultural resources. Presently, Balochistan is administratively divided into 33 districts. District Loralai is located in the north-east of the province and is further sub-divided into Bori tehsil and Makhter sub-tehsil (Fig. 1). Except for a few spectacular and well-studied sites, archaeological research in Balochistan has remained sporadic at best (Khan M. , 2002, p. 145). Systematic transect survey in archaeology is a relatively new concept in Pakistan and it has not been carried out in Balochistan, Punjab and Sindh provinces of Pakistan (Zahir & Khan, 2018). Most of the systematic transect surveys have been carried in Dir, Chitral and Upper Kohistan districts of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province (Ali et al., 2009; 2010; Ali et al. 2016; Samad, et al., 2012). The present research, making use of the systematic transect survey, was the first of its kind to be carried out in Tehsil Bori of District Loralai and Balochistan.

District Loralai includes both perennial and seasonal streams, mountain valleys and mountain ranges with Koh-i-Suleman, the southern extension of the Hindukush mountain ranges, as the most important mountain range (Zahir & Khan, 2018, pp. 2 – 3). District Loralai is approximately 10000 square kilometres in area and it is spread between longitudes 67° 43′ E and 70° 18′ E and latitudes 29° 37′ N and

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31° 27′ N (Baloch, 2011, p. 3; Pakistan Bureau of Statistics, 2020; Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 3). The region has a dry and cold climate varying across elevation; the summer season is generally pleasant and cold in its high altitude areas, while the winter season is extremely cold with strong Siberian winds and heavy snowfall (Baloch 2011, pp. 2, 4; Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 3).

As a region, Loralai-Zhob links the plains of the Indus River in Sind with southern Afghanistan (Dani, 1965-66, p. 228). Along the Quetta valley, the area spans the Bolan and Gomal passes that connect the regions of Balochistan and beyond with the interior Punjab and India across the Indus River (Dani, 1965-66, p. 228) . As a result, the Loralai-Zhob region historically acted as a cultural conduit between the Iranian plateau, Afghanistan, Sind, Punjab and Khyber Pakhtunkhwa provinces of Pakistan. Using systematic transect survey, we report newly documented Buddhist material culture from Tehsil Bori, contextualizing these discoveries with known early historic/Buddhist material culture from the Loralai region and adjoining regions, and exploring possible connections with the early historic kingdom of Pāradān.

Figure 1: The location of modern district Loralai, Balochistan, Pakistan.

Research Context

The modern district of Loralai region and its precursors, entered the archaeological discourse of South Asia through the discovery of the first early village sites of Dabar Kot in 1893, Periano Ghundai in 1897 and Rana Ghundai in 1898 by Fritz Noetling (Noetling, 1898a, pp. 250-251; 1898b, pp. 461-471; Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 4). Sir Marc Aurel Stein conducted extensive surveys in the region in 1904 and he excavated these three sites along with the site of Sur Jangal in 1927 (Stein, 1904-05, pp. 45-46; (1929, pp. 52-54). The site of Dabar Kot helped to establish the cultural profile of Loralai region. Stein's excavations (1929, pp. 52-55) at the site revealed mud brick architecture and fired brick-made drain in the middle of the exposed structures, along with the findings of terracotta figurines of Zhob, the famous Zhob mother goddesses), a compartmented seal and Harappan bangles.

One of the most important early historic period excavations in the Loralai region was at the site of Tor Dherai or Tor Dheri. Tor Dherai, or the 'Black Knoll', was located on the left bank of the Thal River in the Loralai region, on the southernmost end of the rugged hill chain of *Toran-ghar* (Stein 1929, p. 64). The site was situated at the head of the local canals that irrigated the Thal plains of Loralai (Stein, 1929, p. 65). At the base of the hill, with Tor Dherai site on its top, Stein (1929, p. 64) discovered petroglyphs of horsemen, Swastika symbols and graffiti of possible Nagari script on tufa rocks (Stein, p. 64). The Buddhist site of Tor Dherai was initially discovered due to the presence of carved stones on top of the hill with Buddhist floral designs bearing similarities with Gandharan architectural decorative elements.

Subsequent excavation of the site led to the discovery of a platform of dressed stones, with a height of 4 to 6 feet and measuring 47 x 54 square feet (Stein, 1929, p. 65). The platform was decorated with mouldings, diminishing in size with height, along with pilasters and stucco decorations. The base of the Tor Dherai stupa incorporated a staircase from the east, similar

to most of the Buddhist stupas in the Gandhara and Taxila regions. The rectangular platform was topped by a round base and incorporated a staircase form the north-east direction, suggesting a likely function as a stupa, in the manner of the Gandharan stupa construction tradition (Stein, 1929, p. 66). From the middle of the stupa, Stein (1929, pp. 66-67) recovered a ceramic relic casket containing bone fragments, seven small jewels in gold settings, two crystal and onyx beads along with three coral beads, fifteen perforated metal cubes, two perforated stones or possible loom weights and seventy-two pearls of variable sizes. The later Muslim inhabitants of the region repurposed the dressed and decorated stones, and stucco decoration, from the Buddhist stupa for the construction and decoration of two mosques (Stein, 1929, p. 67). This is perhaps the only case of the discovery of a relic casket from in situ deposition since the beginning of the archaeological research in the late 19th century CE in Balochistan. No Buddhist sculptures or its fragments were discovered during these excavations and their absence, if these were made of stucco, may have been due to the removal of stucco from the site by later inhabitants for use in whitewashing.

The most important findings from the site included the discovery of 50 potsherds with Kharoshthi and Brahmi inscriptions (Stein, 1929, p. 68). A total of 45 Kharoshthi and 5 Brahmi inscriptions, in strongly Sanskritised Prakrit language, recorded the presence and dedication of a *prapa*, or watering place for humans and animals, by Yola Mira Shahi (Konow, 1929, pp. 93-94;1929, p. 175; Stein, 1929, pp. 68-69). The Tor Dherai stupa and monastery, originally known as the Yola Mira Shahi Vihara, apparently belonged to the followers of the Sarvastivadin Buddhism and was used between the 1st and 4th centuries CE (Konow, 1929, pp. 93-95; 1929, pp. 174-175; Stein, 1929, p. 68). Konow (1929, pp. 174-175) postulated that the Loralai Buddhists came from Sind during the expansion of the Kushan empire and that the inscriptions related to the time of the Kushan king Vasudeva or later. However, architectural elements discovered from the site suggested a strong link with Gandhara rather than with Sind. In Konow's view, the protagonist of the inscription, Yola Mira Shahi, was thought to be a local Kushan subordinate governor or chief (Konow, 1929, p. 175) The establishment of *prapa*, meaning a 'water saloon' or 'a shed on the roadside containing a reservoir of water for travellers' was a reflection of the extremely arid landscape of Loralai (Konow, 1929, p. 175).

Walter A. Fairservis excavated the site of Dabar Kot, following Aurel Stein excavations. He concluded that all the cultural materials from the site had been mixed (Fairservis, 1959, pp. 293-308). Fairservis recorded the presence of a storage jar of Buddhist type (Fairservis, 1959, pp. 308-311). However, the most important finding from the site was the discovery of what he considered as Buddhist inspired figurines and an eroded sandstone with Buddhist reliefs (Fairservis, 1959, p. 311). Fairservis, in his review of the works of Aural Stein and E. J. Ross, suggested that all the cultural phases represented by the pottery found at Sur Jangal and Rana Ghundai were also represented within the pottery assemblage of the Dabar Kot site. Thus, the Buddhist wares were also recorded from the sites of Rana Ghundai period V and Dabar Kot period IV (Fairservis, 1959, p. 322).

In 1972, Muhammad Rafique Mughal re-examined the site of Rana Ghundai and collected the pottery and other cultural material from the already exposed stratigraphic contexts (Mughal, 1972, pp. 142-143). He also studied the material culture from the site of Dabar Kot and suggested that the site of Dabar Kot was occupied from at least the middle of fourth millennium BCE through the medieval period (Mughal 1972, pp. 143-144). Mughal (Mughal, 1972, pp. 147 – 149) recorded the presence of Buddhist wares at many sites in the Loralai region, including the sites of Bala Spina, Ghalawa Ghundai and Sinjavi Ghundai.

The discovery of Kharoshthi inscriptions and early historic rock carving by Mian Said Qamar in 1984 in the vicinity of Tor Dherai was particularly important. Rock carvings documented by Qamar included images of individual humans and animals, as well as those in groups. The human figures could be classified into two categories. The first category consisted of individual human figures, while the second consisted

of horse-riders (Qamar, 1986, pp. 168-178). These carvings seem to be recorded within the same area where Sir Aurel Stein (1929) found the Nagri inscriptions, horsemen figures and swastika symbols. In addition, these figures bear close affinities to the petroglyphs in the Gilgit-Baltistan region, which were mainly linked with the presence of Buddhism

Pottery Types	Sur Jangle		Rana Ghundai		Dabar Kot	
	Presence	Period	Presence	Period	Presence	Period
Prehistoric Wares	x	-	✓	I a	X	-
Prehistoric Wares	✓	I	✓	I b	X	-
Prehistoric Wares	✓	II	✓	II	X	-
Prehistoric Wares	✓	III	✓	III	✓	I
Harappan Wares	x	-	✓	IV	✓	II
Post Harappan Painted Wares	x	-	✓	IV	✓	III
Early Historic/Buddhist Wares	x	-	✓	V	✓	IV

Table 1: Comparative Stratigraphy of the three type-sites of Loralai region, currently in District Loralai, Ziarat and Duki (adapted from Fairservis, 1959, p. 322; Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 9)

in the region and may belong to the same religious, cultural and socio-economic contexts.

During the winters of 2015, we conducted a transect survey at Tehsil Bori, District Loralai and reported 26 new archaeological sites (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 10; 2020, p. 350). These sites ranged in time from the local protohistoric Baluchi cultures, Kot Dijian culture, and Indus Civilization to the early historic/ Buddhist period. The analysis of the material culture, particularly the ceramic assemblage, revealed half (n=13) of these as multi-period sites and 8 as single-period sites. The material culture from the remaining sites was not diagnostic and could not be assigned to any chronological period (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 10). The existence so many multicomponent sites testifies to the continuity of human settlements and landscape choices for thousands of years in this region (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 10). The present paper is a result of this survey, exploring the early historic/Buddhist material culture, primarily pottery collections. An effort is made to contextualize these with previous research in the region and the early historic kingdom of Pāradān.

Research Approaches

Balochistan in general and the Loralai region in particular have been explored through the village-to-village surveys in the past (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 6). Such surveys, despite their accompanying biase, have generated a remarkable amount of knowledge, with some limitations, about the archaeology of Balochistan. The systematic transect survey, in contrast, provides archaeologists a tool to sampled information from a large region through walking in regularized transects, using handheld Global Positioning System or GPS and recording features of the sites (Ali et al. 2010, p. 138; 2009; Burke & Smith, 2004, p. 65; Yatoo, 2012, p. 110; Zahir & Khan, 2018). Through the application of both random and non-random systematic survey methodologies, 22 transects were positioned in 5 different localities of Tehsil Bori (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 7; Fig. 2). The transects were placed around villages Dargai Sargah (transect points AD1 to AD10), Dargai Kudazai (AD11 to AD20), Mahool Shaikhan (AD21 to AD30), Barnima (AD31 to AD40) and Shabozai (AD41 to AD44) (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 7).

Due to the adverse law and order situation in 2015, we were only able to conduct the survey of 10 transects (5 transects from AD1 to AD10 and 5 transects from AD21 to AD30) near village Dargai Sargah (Fig. 3) and Mahool Shaikhan (Fig. 4) respectively (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 8). Each transect was surveyed by a group of 4 to 6 team members, covering an average of a 20 metre wide and 5 kilometre long area (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 8). A total of 100 hectare area (10 transects by 20 metres in width and by 5,000 metres in length for each transect) was surveyed, exploring nearly 20,000 hectare area around these two villages (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 8).

Potsherds and lithic tools were collected during the survey. We collected diagnostic or non-random samples, such as rims, bases, body-sherds with painted, incised or applied decorations at all the discovered sites (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 8). In the absence of datasets and absolute chronological frameworks, chronological estimates for these newly discovered sites, is based upon Fairservis's

(1959) chronological typology. This transect survey revealed 23 new archaeological sites, along with three sites through village-to-village survey (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 10). These three sites were Shabozai Ghundai, Dowa-Sarkan Ghundai and Barnima Ghundai (Fig. 5).

Previous researchers classified Buddhist sites within Loralai region on the basis of pottery assemblages. Two diagnostic pottery types, stamped and rope wares, were used for classification of the early historic and Buddhist sites within and outside the Loralai region in Balochistan. 'Stamped ware' refers to a pottery decorative technique wherein pottery vessels were marked on the exterior with concentric circles, dragged comb-teeth, sun ray, and leaf impressions (Fairservis, 1956, p. 338). However, stamped ware was not just limited to the designs mentioned by Fairservis and it probably meant that an indented impression was created using a cut-out

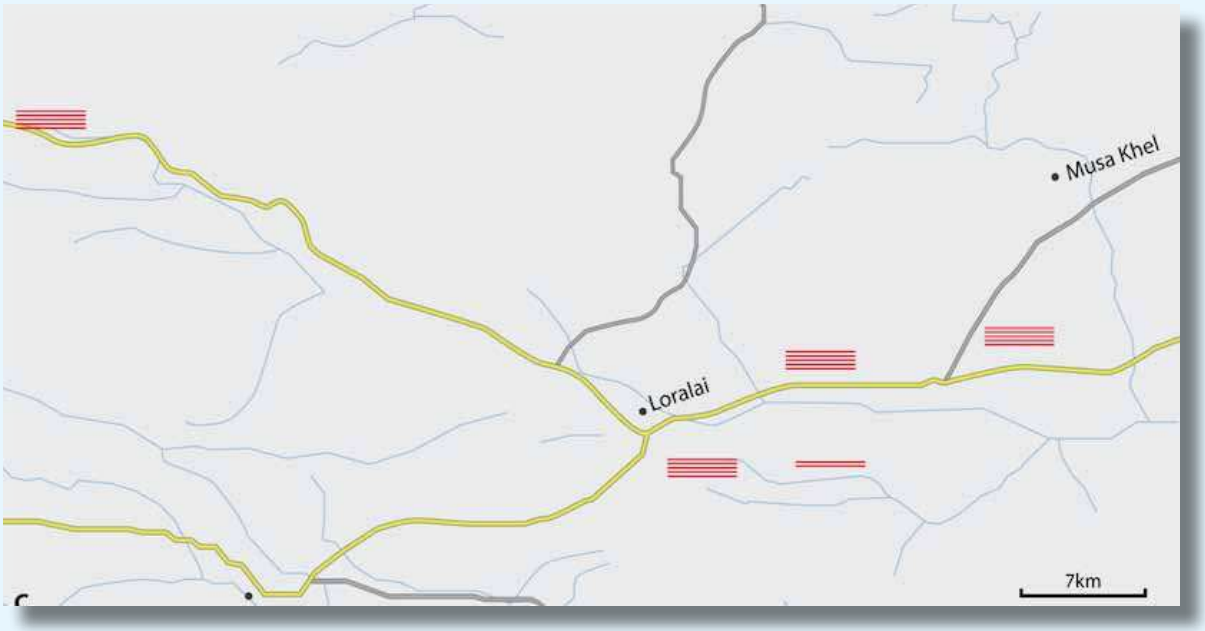

Figure 2: Placement of 22 transects at 5 locations within Tehsil Bori, District Loralai

Figure 3: Location of 5 transects, AD 01 to AD 10, near Dargai Sargarh village

Figure 4: Location of 5transects, AD 21 to AD 30, near Mahool Sheikhan village

or template in any shape or form. Stamped ware from Balochistan was similar to, and contemporary with, stamped pottery from Taxila and Udyâna valleys that originated from 2nd – 3rd century BCE and continued till the Islamic period (Fairservis, 1956, p. 338 – 339; Marshall J. , 1951, p. 400; Stein, 1930, pp. 21, 49, 74). John Marshall (1951, p. 400) suggested that the tradition of stamping of wet clay was initially introduced by Greeks and that it was readily adapted by the local artists. 'Rope ware', the second type of diagnostic ware, can be distinguished by raised band(s) with parallel oblique incisions in a rope-like appearance (Fairservis, 1956, p. 340). Both of these wares were also found within the excavations of Buddhist sites at Charsadda (Marshall & Vogel, 1904).

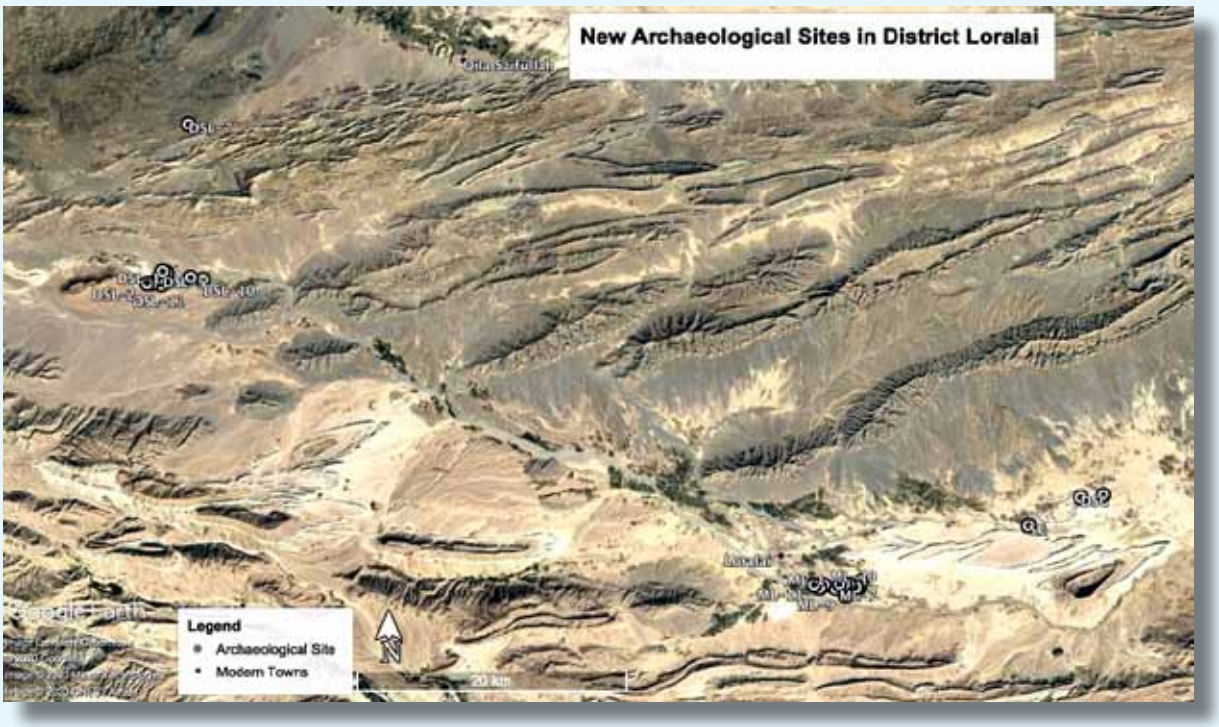

Figure 5: Location map of archaeological sites through transect survey, Tehsil Bori [DSL: Dargai Sargah Line; ML: Mahool Shaikhan Line; SG: Shabozai Ghundai; DSG: Dowa-Sarkan Ghundai]

The inferred role of Buddhism in northern Balochistan was primarily constructed through the comparison of early historic pottery in northern Balochistan with those from Taxila and northwestern Pakistan. In the absence of radiocarbon dates, and other suitable chronometric methodologies, this comparative dating of the pottery had been an accepted method for establishing cultural chronology applied by other scholars, such as by Fairservis (1956, 1959) and Mughal (1972, p. 140), in the periodization of early historic and Buddhist sites in Balochistan. Established terminologies have been used by scholars such as by Mughal (1972) to refer to the same material culture within the context of Balochistan archaeology. For consistency, we also adhere to this terminology, while cautioning the reader that we do not necessarily ascribe to the theoretical connotations and assumptions of the earlier scholars' comparative method. wherein the terms 'stamped ware', 'rope ware' and/or 'Buddhist ware' have generally been used to designate the presence of Buddhism at archaeological sites.

Analysis and Discussions

The extent of Buddhism in Balochistan is still largely unknown and the province has effectively remained outside the discourse of Buddhism in Pakistan. This is perhaps due to lack of remarkable findings, such as sculptures or large monastic complexes, that could be associated with Buddhism, such as those of the Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna or Swat valleys. Except for the work of Sir Aurel Stein (1929), who excavated the site of a Buddhist stupa (sans sculptures), at the site of Tor Dherai and Fairservis (1959) at Dabar Kot, in the Loralai region, none of the archaeologists working in northern Balochistan have recovered Buddhist sculptures or architecture since then. However, Mughal (1972, p. 139) believed that the early historic and Islamic periods of Balochistan have yet to be explored systematically. Konow (1929, p. 173) believed that the site of Tor Dherai was linked to the empire of the Kushans, extension to the west. The Kushana dynasty is generally regarded as the main promulgators of Buddhism during the first quarter of the 1st millennium CE.

Within the systematic transect survey of Tehsil Bori, District Loralai, we identified a total of 12 archaeological sites with early historic/Buddhist material culture. These included, the site of DSL-04, which was discovered on transect AD9-AD10 at a latitude 30°32'57.51"N and longitude 68° 7'21.38" E. The site was located at 1937 metres above mean sea level (amsl) and measured about 1.80 hectares. The DSL-05 site was recorded on the transect AD1-AD2 at latitude 30°33'28.67" N and longitude 68° 7'25.06" E. DSL-05 was situated at 1960 amsl and measured about a quarter (or 0.24) hectare. The DSL-06, the smallest of all the sites, was located on transect AD1-AD2 at latitude 30°33'25.92"N and longitude 68° 7'34.69" E. It measured 0.08 hectare and was located 1958 amsl. The site of DSL-07 was found on transect AD3-AD4 at latitude 30°39'20.51" N and longitude 68° 8'35.42" E. This site measured a little over half (or 0.55) hectare. The DSL-08 site was located on transect AD5-AD6 at latitude 30°33'8.96" N and longitude 68° 7'12.55" E. It measured about 0.64 hectares and was located at the 1395 amsl (Fig. 6).

The ML-02 site was discovered on transect AD29-AD30 at latitude 30°20'26.30" N and longitude 68°39'3.35" E. ML-02 measured a litter over half a hectare and was situated at 1395 amsl. The sit of ML-03-04 was recorded on transect AD27-28 at latitude 30°20'48.05" N and longitude 68°39'43.05" E. The site measured about 2.24 hectares and was located at 1388 amsl. The ML-10 was recorded on transect AD21-AD22 at latitude 30°21'1.01" N and longitude 68°39'46.60" E. ML-10 measured less than half a hectare in area and was situated at 1384 amsl. The ML-12 site was found on transect AD29-AD30 and was located at latitude 30°20'44.18" N and longitude 68°38'34.24" E. It measured less than half a hectare in area and was located 1390 amsl (Fig. 7). The Shahbozai Ghundai site, at altitude 30°23'11.25" N and longitude 68°47'36.04"E, was the largest of the discovered sites at 1313 amsl and measured 40 hectares in size. The site of Barnima Ghundai, located at an altitude N and longitude E, was located at 1296 amsl and measured 0.2 hectares in area. Similarly, the site of Dowa Sarkan Ghundai was located at an altitude N and longitude E, 1335 amsl, and measured 1.28 hectares in area.

Size-wise, these sites could be classified into three categories. Small sites, covering less than one hectare in area, are the most numerous and these included 8 of the 12 newly discovered Buddhist sites (Fig. 8). Medium-sized sites, with an area ranging from 1 to 3 hectares, include three of these new localities (Fig. 9). Finally, the site of Shabozai Ghundai (with an area of 40 hectares) may be classified as 'extra large' (Fig. 10). Based upon the altitude from the mean sea level, we could classify the sites into two groups. The first group of sites was located between 1290 and 1400 metres amsl (seven sites). The second group consisting of five sites were located at high altitude, between 1930 to 1960 metres amsl. Most of the high altitude sites, with the exception of DSL-04 site, were small-sized sites with less than 0.70 hectares in area, while medium and extra-large sized sites were found at lower altitudes (Table 2).

Figure 6: Location of archaeological sites from transects near Dargai Sargarh village

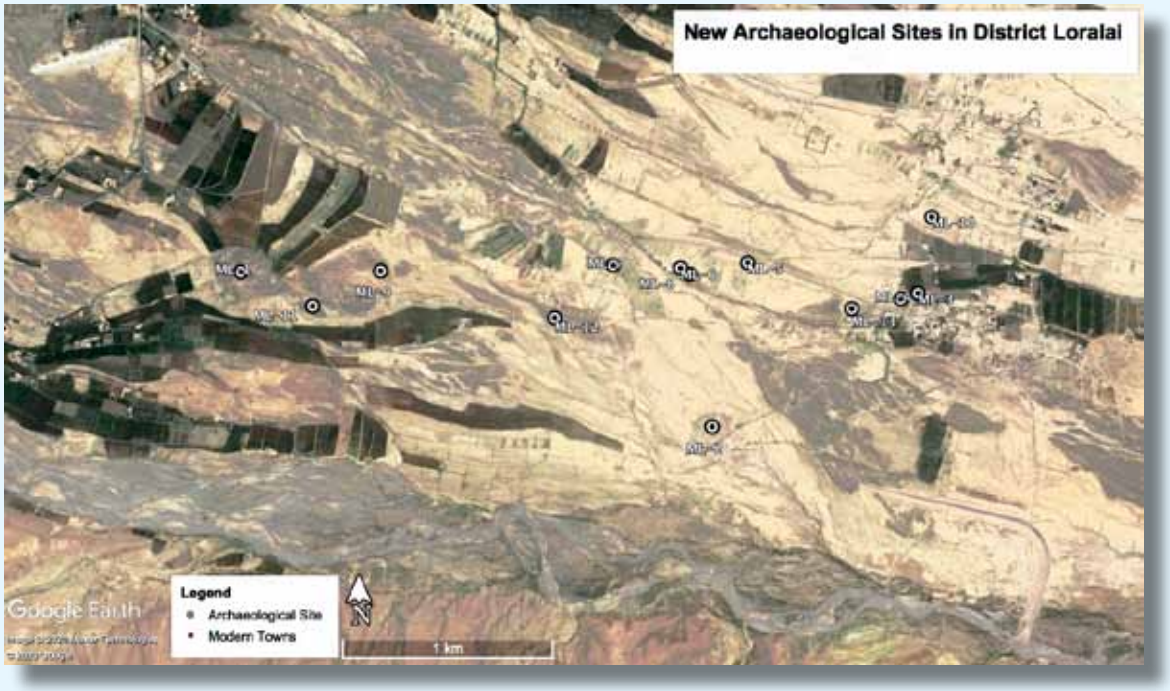

Figure 7: Location of archaeological sites from transects near Mahool Sheikhan village

Figure 8: General view of the ML-02 site

Figure 9: General view of the ML-03-04 site.

S. No.	Site Name	Transect	Latitude (N)	Longitude (E)	Elevation (in meters above Mean Sea Level)	Area (hectares)
1	DSL-04	AD9-AD10	30°32'57.51"	68° 7'21.38"	1937	1.8
2	DSL-05	AD1-AD2	30°33'28.67"	68° 7'25.06"	1960	0.24
3	DSL-06	AD1-AD2	30°33'25.92"	68° 7'34.69"	1958	0.08
4	DSL-07	AD3-AD4	30°39'20.51"	68° 8'35.42"	1949	0.55
5	DSL-08	AD5-AD6	30°33'8.96"	68° 7'12.55"	1956	0.64
6	ML-02	AD29-AD30	30°20'26.30"	68°39'3.35"	1395	0.56
7	ML-03-04	AD27-AD28	30°20'48.05"	68°39'43.05"	1388	2.24
8	ML-10	AD21-AD22	30°21'1.01"	68°39'46.60"	1384	0.4
9	ML-12	AD29-AD30	30°20'44.18"	68°38'34.24"	1390	0.44
10	Shabozai Ghundai	Village to Village	30°23'11.25"	68°47'36.04"	1313	40
11	Barnima Ghundai	Village to Village	30°24'24.05"	68°51'6.49"	1296	0.2
12	Dowa Sarkan Ghundai	Village to Village	30°24'18.83"	68°50'2.13"	1335	1.28

Table 2: The location, elevation and area of the early historic/Buddhist sites, Tehsil Bori, District Loralai

Figure 10: General view of the Shabozai Ghundai site and its ongoing conversion into agricultural fields.

S. No.	Site Name	Stamped Ware	Rope Ware
1	DSL-04	Y	
2	DSL-05	Y	
3	DSL-06		Y
4	DSL-07	Y	
5	DSL-08		Y
6	ML-02		Y
7	ML-03-04		Y
8	ML-10		Y
9	ML-12		Y
10	Shabozai Ghundai	Y	Y
11	Barnima Ghundai		Y
12	Dowa Sarkan Ghundai		Y

Table 3: The presence of stamped and rope wares at early historic/Buddhist sites, Tehsil Bori, District Loralai

Rope ware was recorded from eight or two-third of the sites, including the sites of DSL-06, DSL-08, ML-02, ML-02-03, ML-10, ML-12, Shabozai Ghundai, Barnima Ghundai and Dowa Sarkan Dheri. With the exception of DSL-06 and DSL-08 sites, none of the sites at higher altitude (1930 to 1960 metres amsl) contained the rope ware. All the sites within the lower altitudinal category (1290 to 1400 metres amsl) had rope ware (Table 3; Fig. 11).

With the exception of DSL-08 site, the early historic/Buddhist sites at lower altitude also dated typologically between the 3rd century BCE to 1st century CE (Table 4). The early historic/Buddhist period at DSL-08 started from 3rd century BCE and continued till 8th century CE. Similarly, within the higher altitudinal category, the early historic/Buddhist periods of ML-03-04 and Barnima Ghundai sites were dated between the 3rd century BCE to 8th century CE, while the rest of the sites were earlier, from the 3rd century BCE to 1st century CE. Thus, it may be argued that the rope ware dated consistently between the 3rd century BCE to 1st century CE. Similarly, the stamped ware within the both the altitudinal categories could be dated from 3rd century BCE to 1st century CE and the same was absent from sites with early historic/Buddhist period dated to 3rd century BCE to 8th century CE.

Figure 11: Selected early historic/Buddhist pottery forms from Tehsil Bori survey.

S. No.	Site Name	Early Historic Comparative Site	Chronological Period	Date Range
1	DSL-04	Periano Ghundai and Dabar Kot	DK - Group 4	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
2	DSL-05	Dabar Kot, Mughal Ghundai and Rana Ghundai	RG-V and QV-D	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
3	DSL-06	Kaudani and Rana Ghundai	RG-V	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
4	DSL-07	Mughal Kala, Rana Ghundai and Tulamba	RG-V and T. II	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
5	DSL-08	K2 and Q30	QV - D & C	3rd century BCE to 8th century CE
6	ML-02	P4	RG-V	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
7	ML-03-04	Q32	QV - D & C	3rd century BCE to 8th century CE
8	ML-10	B1	QV - D	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
9	ML-12	Kaudani and Rana Ghundai	RG-V & QV - D	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
10	Shabozai Ghundai	Dabar Kot and Rana Ghundai	RG-V	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
11	Barnima Ghundai	Kaudani and Q13	RG-V & QV - D	3rd century BCE to 8th century CE
12	Dowa Sarkan Ghundai	Rana Ghundai, Q32, Mughal Kala and K2	RG-V & QV - D	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE

B: Bolan; K: Kalat; P: Pishin; Q: Quetta; DK: Dabar Kot; Rana Ghundai; T: Tulamba; QV: Quetta Valley;

Table 4: The chronological contexts of the early historic/Buddhist sites, Tehsil Bori, District Loralai

Three of the five sites at higher altitude were relatively later habitations and could be dated from 3rd century BCE to 8th century CE (Table 4). The rest of the sites within both the altitudinal categories had a long life span, starting from 5th-4th millennium BCE to 8th century CE (Table 5).

At least 15 inscriptions, dated from the 1st to 9th centuries CE, from 14 archaeological sites have been documented in Kharoshthi, Brahmi, Sarada, Nagari, Sogdian and Arabic scripts from Loralai and surrounding regions (Table 6). The majority of these inscriptions were in Kharoshthi script and were dated from 1st to 2nd century CE, signifying a strong religious and political links with the Gandhara region during the first centuries of the Common Era. Most of these inscriptions were dedicatory in nature and celebrated meritorious deeds, such as the construction of stupa, wells, or water reservoirs. The importance of construction of wells and water reservoirs for both humans and animals may have been a mark of high merit, especially in the desert and semi-desert areas of Loralai and surrounding regions.

The study of silver and copper coins from the Loralai and adjoining regions led Pankaj Tandon (2012) to postulate the presence of a Buddhist/Hindu kingdom in most of Balochistan province, called Pāradān. He reconstructed the political history of the eleven Pārata kings of the Pāradān (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). He believed that the first king of this dynasty was called Yolamira, son of Bagareva, who ruled from circa 125 to 150 CE (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). He was followed by his sons Bagamira, circa 150 CE, Arjuna, circa 150 – 165 CE and Hvaramira, circa 165 – 175 CE (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). Hvaramir was followed by his sons Mirahvara (circa 175 – 185 CE) and Miratakhma (circa 185 – 200 CE) (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). Miratakhma was followed by Kozana

S. No.	Site Name	Multi-Period	Associated Sites and Chronological Phases	Possible Date Range
1	DSL-04	Y	Sur Jangle II and III, Mehrgarh III, Rana Ghundai III, Kili Gul Muhammad IV, Kot Diji, Mundigak - I and Damb Sadat II and III	Mid-5th millennium BCE to 1st century CE
2	DSL-05	Y	Harappan	Mid-3rd millennium BCE to 1st century CE
3	DSL-06	N	Kaudani and Rana Ghundai V	3rd century BCE to 1st century CE
4	DSL-07	Y	Early Historic, Historic	3rd century BCE to 3rd century CE
5	DSL-08	Y	Early Historic, Historic	3rd century BCE to 8th century CE
6	ML-02	Y	Mehrgarh III to VII, Harappan, Ghalegai III	Mid-5th millennium BCE to 1st century CE
7	ML-03-04	Y	Sur Jangle III, Early Historic, Historic	Mid-5th millennium BCE to 8th century CE
8	ML-10	Y	Harappan and Early Historic	Mid-3rd millennium BCE to 1st century CE
9	ML-12	Y	Rana Ghundai Ia and Quetta Valley D	Mid-5th millennium BCE to 1st century CE
10	Shabozai Ghundai	Y	Rana Ghundai I to IV, Sur Jangle I and II, Kot Diji, Damb Sadat III, Harappan, and Quetta F to D,	Mid-5th millennium BCE to 1st century CE
11	Barnima Ghundai	Y	Lewan, Kot Diji, Harappan, Rana Ghundai III-IV, Quetta E and D, and Historic	End of 4th millennium BCE to 8th century CE
12	Dowa Sarkan Ghundai	Y	Rana Ghundai III to V and Quetta Valley F to E.	Mid-4th millennium BCE to 1st century CE

Table 5: The relative chronological extent of multi-period sites at Tehsil Bori, District Loralai

S. No.	Site	Region	Script	Possible Date	Evidence	Reference
1	Tor Dherai	Loralai	Kharoshthi	200 CE	45 potsherds	(Kakar et al., 2017, p. 47; Konow, 1929, pp. 73-75; 1929, pp. 173-176; Stein, 1929)
2	Tor Dherai	Loralai	Gupta Brahmi	4 - 6th century CE	5 potsherds	(Encyclopaedia Britannica, 2020; Kakar et al, 2017, p. 50; Konow, 1929, pp. 73-75; 1929, pp. 173-176)
3	Mir Ali	North Waziristan	Sarada	840/843/861 CE	Stone	(Khaw, 2016, p. 161; Nasim Khan & Azeem, 1999)
4	Mir Ali - Idak and Spinwarm	North Waziristan	Kufic Arabic, Sarada or Nagari or Sogdian	857 CE	Stone	(Dani, Humbach, & Gobl, 1964, p. 125; Khaw, 2016, p. 161)
5	Mir Ali - Khazana	North Waziristan	Sarada or Nagari or Sogdian	862 CE	Stone	(Dani, Humbach, & Gobl, 1964, p. 126; Khaw, 2016, p. 162)
6	Mir Ali - Sher-talao or Shertulla	North Waziristan	Arabic and Sogdian	865 CE	Stone	(Dani, Humbach, & Gobl, 1964, p. 126; Khaw, 2016, p. 161)
7	Spinwam	North Waziristan	Kharoshthi		Stone	(Nasim Khan & Azeem, 1999; Solomon, 1981)
8	Shertala - Idak ~ Spinwarm Road	North Waziristan	Kharoshthi		Stone	(Dani, 1978; Nasim Khan, 2001)
9	Spina	South Waziristan	Brahmi	305 or 311 CE	Stone	(Nasim Khan, 2001)
10	Rani Dab, Sultanzai	Orakzai	Kharoshthi	1st - 2nd century CE	Copper Plate	(Nasim Khan, 2002)
11	Kurram Casket Inscription	Kurram	Kharoshthi	2nd century CE	Copper Stupa	(Konow, 1929, pp. 152-153)
12	Chaki Wardak	Afghanistan	Kharoshthi	178 CE	Copper Urn	(Konow, 1929)
13	Sui Vihar, Punjnad	Bahawalpur	Kharoshthi	June 129 CE	Copper Plate	(Kakar et al., 2017, p. 47; Konow, 1929)
14	Mohenjodaro	Larkhana/ Benazirabad	Kharoshthi		3 Glazed potsherds	(Kakar et al., 2017, p. 47; Konow, 1929, p. 173)
15	Andarbes	Zhob - Pishin	Kharoshthi Graffiti		Rock Carving	(Stein, 1929, p. 79)

Table 6: Distribution of inscriptions of 1st millennium CE in and around the Loralai region

son of Bagavhama (circa 200 to 220 CE) (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). Kozana was succeeded by Bhimarjuna son of Yolatakhma in circa 220 to 230 CE (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). Bhimarjuna was followed by Koziya son of Kozana and he ruled from circa 230 to 265 CE (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). Koziya was succeeded by Datarvharna son of Datayola I and he ruled from circa 265 to 285 CE (Tandon, 2012, p. 34). Datayola II son of Datarvharna (circa 285 to 300 CE) was the last king of this dynasty (Tandon, 2012, p. 34).

The salient features of the Pāratarajas coins were that

"[a]lmost all the coins carry a bust on the obverse and a swastika surrounded by a circular legend on the reverse. The language of virtually all the coin-legends is Prakrit, and the legends themselves are written sometimes in Brahmi letters and sometimes in Kharoshthi, recalling the similar pattern of the potsherds discovered in Loralai by Stein. Finally, the coins are found in silver and copper, but there is almost no overlap between them (Tandon, 2012, p. 33)".

A local resident of Shabozai village, residing near the Shabozai Ghundai site, showed the survey team a silver coin of the Pāratarajas from the site. The owner of the coin did not permit its photography, but later on sent a blurred image of the coin to the survey team that could not be reproduced for publication. The coin has a bust of the king on obverse with a swastika on the reverse side surrounded by text. Visual comparison of the coin with the list of the coins of the Pāratarajas, suggested that it was probably the coin of king Hvaramira son of Yolamira, who ruled from 165 to 175 CE.

Based upon the genealogy of the Shahi title by Sten Konow (1929 c, p. 175), Tandon (2012, p. 34), believed that Yolamira issued his first coins around or after 127 CE during the reign of Kanishka. However, Stein (1929, pp. 96-97) suggested that Yola Mira was a governor of the Kushan and that he belonged to the Khotan region. The early coins of the Pāratarajas showed close similarity with the Parthian and Kushan coinage, while their last coins were overstruck by Sasanian kings (Tandon 2012, pp. 34-37). The Pāratarajas derived their power from the control of the Bolan Pass and, hence, the overland

Figure 12: Map of the possible geographical limits of the Pāradān kingdom, Balochistan (adapted from Tandon 2012).

trade between India and Rome during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE (Tandon, 2012, p. 37). Quoting Mukherjee (1972, pp. 63 - 65), Tandon (2012, p. 43) argued that Pāradā was the old name of the metal mercury, a name unknown till the 2nd century CE in India and that the Pāradān kingdom controlled and dealt in the trade of mercury.

Tandon (2012, p. 43) suggested that the Pāradān kingdom was centred around the Loralai region but also included most of the ancient polities of Gedrosia (modern Makran (Stein, 1931)) and southern Arachosia (the Kandahar, Helmand and adjoining regions). Konow (1929, p. 175) believed that Loralai was the eastern dependency of the Kandahar province during the later historic times. The extended Pāradān kingdom included the regions of Panjgur (in the south) to touching Indus River and Zhob (in the north) to Kandhar (in the west) and Helmand (in the southwest) regions (Tandon, 2012, pp. 43-46; Fig. 12).

The archaeological and numismatic evidence suggests that the Loralai region, including the modern districts of Qilla Saifullah, Loralai, Duki, Sibi, Harnai, Mastung, Bolan, Kohlu, Barakan and Musakhel constituted the core of the early historic Pāradān kingdom. However, the extended Pāradān kingdom at its peak, possibly included the whole of the northern, central and southern Balochistan, parts of the Iranian region of Seistan-Balochistan, and most of the Afghanistan's provinces of Paktika, Ghazni, Zabul, Kandahar, Helmand and Nimroz. In the north, the Pāradān kingdom probably extended to include districts of Dera Ismail Khan, Tank, South and North Waziristan, and Kurram of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa province, districts Dera Ghazi Khan, Rajanpur and Rahim Yar Khan of Punjab province and bordering region of Sind province.

The choice of landscapes within the Kot Dijian and Harappan periods in the Loralai region was likely commanded by environment, resources and proximity to trade and communication routes (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 19; 2020, p. 367). The same landscape choices continued across the early historic/Buddhist period, though not in perfect agreement, with those of the Kot Dijian and Harappan periods. Early historic/Buddhist sites in the survey region were influenced by their locations near the water resources, trade and access routes, mountain passes and agricultural lands. These sites were primarily concentrated within two mountainous valley-like settings at different altitudinal heights. Most of the newly discovered early historic/Buddhist were located in a comparatively low altitudinal area, in areas with relatively large agricultural tracts. These sites seem to have been linked with semi-perennial streams. Most such sites from this period, with the exception of two, seem to have been small villages of about or just over half a hectare. The Shabozai Ghundai site seems to have been a large urban centre, though the extent of the presence of early historic/Buddhist occupation at the site is unknown.

The concentration of the early historic/Buddhist sites within the relatively low valley settings suggests that the Buddhist establishments were more closely linked with agricultural communities and trading communities. Following the earlier Kot Dijian and Harappan settlement patterns, the early historic/Buddhist sites were linked to trade routes (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 20). These trade routes connected the study region with Afghanistan, Iran and onwards, and with central and western Asia through Quetta, Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Punjab through Dera Ismail Khan, Zhob and Qila Saifullah, Sindh and Punjab onwards with South Asia through Sakhi Sarwar pass and Sind through Loralai and Duki regions (Zahir & Khan, 2018, p. 20). From all these regions, unifying threads of material culture, especially stamped and rope wares, and contemporary inscriptions - have been recovered, suggesting a strong political and religious association between the Loralai, as a core region, and surrounding regions during the early historic/Buddhist period. The new findings from transect and village-to-village surveys support the hypothesized existence of a political state during the early historic/Buddhist period corresponding to the Pāradān kingdom, as suggested from coinage from the region (Tandon, 2012). The early line of the Pāratarajas were likely Buddhist while the later, from Arjuna onwards (circa 150 – 165 CE), seemed to have followed Hinduism or Mithraism.

The swastika was probably the emblem of the Pāradān kingdom and it was represented on the reverse of the coins of all the eleven Pāratarajas (Tandon, 2012, pp. 33, 37). The presence of swastika was reported engraved on the rocks at the foot of the Buddhist stupa site of Tor Dherai by Stein (1929). The inscribed potsherd referred to a Buddhist stupa and monastic establishment, with a water tank, by Yola Mira Shahi, the founder of the Pāradān kingdom (Stein, 1929, Konow, 1929; Tandon, 2012). One of the reported architectural decorative elements from Tor Dherai stupa excavations also had a carved swastika, moving to the right (Stein, 1929, Fig. 28). Swastika symbols, Kharoshthi and Nagari inscriptions, and possibly horsemen, have been reported engraved on the rocks near the Tor Dherai site likely belong to the Pāradān kingdom and possibly date to the time of its first ruler, the Yola Mira Shahi. The swastika symbol was religiously significant for both the Buddhists and Hindu religion, fitting well within the religious beliefs of the Pāratarajas. This acceptance within both Buddhist and Hindu pantheon of the swastika symbol might have contributed to its continuity as a state symbol within the Pāradān kingdom.

Our cursory analysis of the presence of stamped and rope wares in the archaeological literature revealed 46 early historic/Buddhist sites across the broader region of Balochistan (Appendix 1). More than half of these (n= 27) early historic/Buddhist sites come from within the Loralai region, confirming its position as the core area of the early historic/Buddhist period within Balochistan and the surrounding area. Similar review of the archaeological literature revealed a further 60 sites outside Balochistan (Appendix 2). These, along with the newly discovered 12 early historic/Buddhist sites, bring the total to 118 sites in Balochistan and the adjacent regions with ceramics associated with the early historic/Buddhist period. Given this wide distribution, it may be fair to hypothesize that stamped and rope wares represent a diagnostic early historic/Buddhist pottery tradition, spreading from the ancient Udyâna region in the north to Seistan in the south and Rang Mahal in the east. The lack of recorded coordinates for most of the recorded early historic/Buddhist sites within and outside Balochistan have thus far prevented us from mapping the distribution of these localities, but focused investigations in the future may help visualize the the spread of stamped and rope wares and early historic/Buddhist material culture and assess their relationship to the Pāradān kingdom.

If the spread of the stamped and rope wares shared a relationship with the political or economic boundaries of the early historic kingdom of Pāradān in Balochistan, this pattern also appears to reflect a strong relationship between the Pāradān state and Kushan empire from the ancient region of Gandhara. If strong religious and political relationships existed between the states of Pāradān and the Kushan empire, Pāradān state may have served as a vassal kingdom, at least in its formative years. Future research, involving investigation of the political and religious relationships between the two – perhaps through mapping of the coins of the Pāradān kingdom and early historic/Buddhist sites in Balochistan and the surrounding regions – may provide us clues to understanding the nature and extent of social and economic links between these two polities in the past.

Investigation of the spread of Sarvastivada Buddhism in Balochistan and surrounding regions may also clarify the ancient relationship between Buddhist Balochistan and Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna regions. In fact, architectural reliefs from Tor Dherai stupa were similar to the architectural decorations found in Buddhist establishments in the Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna regions (Stein, 1929, Figs. 25-27). Most of the decorative elements at Tor Dherai are floral and geometrical, dominated by the motif of acanthus leaves (either individually, or as part of the Corinthian pilasters). In fact, the Corinthian pilasters themselves are largely similar to those found at monuments in the Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna regions. However, the Tor Dherai pilasters also differs from pilasters in the Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna regions in some ways, as these tapered upward.

Two broken headless torso of terracotta figurines from Dabar Kot, depicted with prominent breasts, of Buddhist derivation are broadly similar to the terracotta figurines form Taxila valley (Fairservis, 1959, p. 353, pl. 33; Marshall 1951, pl. 132-133). These figurines, along with a Buddhist relief described by Fairservis (1959, p. 311) have the potential to be among the most important archaeological discoveries known from ancient Balochistan. However, Fairservis neither published the photographs or drawings of the Buddhist relief, nor did he discuss or identify these findings in great detail. Future investigation of these, and other extant specimens of Buddhist art, could shed light on the Buddhist art of Balochistan and its relationship with the regional styles of Buddhist art in South Asia.

It is crucial to understand that the present survey was carried out in a limited area of Tehsil Bori, District Loralai and that the results- though very exciting and encouraging- may or may not be a factual reflection of the composite archaeological and the early historic/Buddhist landscape of the Loralai region and Balochistan province. However, our results suggest that with the application of modern tools, as well as the use of analytical, theoretical and interpretative survey strategies, brings us the potential to exponentially increase our understanding of the archaeology of Balochistan. The knowledge of the early historic/Buddhist period sites in Balochistan

can certainly be enhanced with technologically and theoretically improved survey methodologies. Additionally, further investigation and mapping of the find spots of coins and archaeological sites with stamped and rope wares in Balochistan and the surrounding regions could help establish clear political and material culture boundaries of the Pāradān kingdom during the 2nd and 3rd centuries CE and clarify its relationship with the Kushan empire to the north and Sasanian empire to the south

Conclusions

The Buddhist pantheon is unknown in the archaeology and history of Balochistan province, Pakistan. There is practically no information on the introduction, development and decline of Buddhism in Balochistan, although it enjoyed close linkages with the predominant Buddhist regions of Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna regions, Sind province, and Afghanistan and Central Asia during the mid-1st millennium BCE to 1st millennium CE. Early excavations of Buddhist architectural and material culture, such as at the sites of Tor Dherai and Dabar Kot, in the Loralai region pointed to the possibility of a thriving Buddhist culture and polity within Balochistan. The presence of Buddhist material culture, particularly the diagnostic Buddhist stamped and rope wares, suggests the possible spread of Buddhism in Balochistan and its relationship with the core areas of Buddhism such as Gandhara, Taxila and Udyâna regions in northwestern South Asia. However, these tantalizing suggestions have not been further investigated in the century following their initial discovery.

Our systematic transect survey at Tehsil Bori, District Loralai, led to the discovery of 26 new archaeological sites, including 12 early historic/Buddhist sites. The finding of possible 12 early historic/Buddhist sites within such a limited area suggests to a vibrant presence of the Buddhists in Loralai region in antiquity. Further investigation of the archaeological literature revealed 46 archaeological sites with similar material culture/designation in the Balochistan province. Consideration of the early historic literature revealed the presence of another 46 similar sites in the surrounding regions and 14 sites in Sind province. Finally, 14 sites in Balochistan and surrounding regions were identified with inscriptions from the 1st millennium CE, primarily in the Kharoshthi script. Viewed together, these sites reveal a previously undocumented spread of early historic/Buddhist phenomenon in Balochistan and surrounding regions.

The spread of these sites corresponds with the possible geographical range of the early historic kingdom of Pāradān, identified recently through discoveries of a specific type of 2nd – 3rd century CE coins from Balochistan. The kingdom of Pāradān probably incorporated most of Balochistan and its surrounding regions, with Loralai region as its core. The kings of Pāradān seemed to have been Buddhist initially, and enjoyed close cultural, religious and socio-political relationships with the Kushan empire, centred at Gandhara. The kings of Pāradān had control over access and trade routes connecting South Asia and the Roman world through both territorial power and control over the trade of mercury – providing them with power, prestige, and perhaps even independence from the Kushan empire in the 2nd – 3rd century CE. Technologically and theoretically informed multi-disciplinary investigations in northern and central Balochistan and adjoining regions in future may provide us critical information on Buddhism, the political extent of the kingdom of Pāradān, and its relationships with the contemporary empires and cultural and religious centres.

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Appendix 1: Sites with Buddhist Material Culture in Balochistan

S. No	Site	Region	Stamped Ware	Rope Ware	Reference
1	L8	Loralai		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 328)
2	L13	Loralai		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 328)
3	Bala Spina	Loralai	-	-	(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
4	Ghalawa Ghundai	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
5	Kasiano Dozakh	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
6	Kohing - II	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
7	Babari Ghundai	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
8	Habib Kili	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
9	Haji Qaim Khan	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
10	Hamai Karez	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
11	Khan Mehtarzai - II	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
12	Kaonri	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
13	Kashkai - II	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
14	Kashkai - III	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
15	Mughal Qila	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
16	Pathan Kot	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
17	Wahar	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
18	Watgan	Loralai			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
19	Rogha Kaudani	Zhob			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
20	Mata Kaundani	Zhob			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
21	Periano Ghundai	Loralai-Zhob	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 339, 352)
22	Kaudani	Loralai-Zhob	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
23	Tor Dherai	Loralai-Zhob	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
24	Dabar Kot	Loralai-Zhob	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 339, 438)
25	Rana Ghundai	Loralai-Zhob		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, 340; 1959, p. 435)
26	Q13	Queta valley		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 340 - 341, 347 – 348)
27	Q19	Queta valley	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 338, 340)
28	Q21	Queta valley	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 338)
29	Q22	Queta valley	-	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 340)
30	Q25	Queta valley	-	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 340)
31	Q30	Queta valley	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 338, 340)

32	Q31	Queta valley	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 338, 340)
33	Q32	Queta valley	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 338, 340)
34	Spina Ghundai (Habibzai)	Queta - Pishin			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
35	Raisa Ghundai	Queta - Pishin			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
36	Raisa Ghundai - II	Queta - Pishin			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
37	Salezai	Queta - Pishin			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
38	Kirani	Queta - Pishin			(Mughal, 1972, p. 148)
39	Spet-Bulandi	Mastung / Sarawan	Y	-	Fairservis, 1956, p. 339
40	Sampur	Mastung/Sarawan	-	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 340)
41	Safaid Bulandi	Kalat			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
42	Sampur Damb	Kalat			(Mughal, 1972, p. 149)
43	K2	Kalat		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 340 - 341, 347 – 348)
44	P4	Pishin		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 347 – 348)
45	B1	Bolan		Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 340 - 341, 347 – 348)
46	Mughal Kala	Loralai	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1959, pp. 326, 434)

Appendix 2: Stamped and rope wares from early historic/Buddhist sites outside Balochistan.

S. No.	Site	Region	Province	Country	Stamped Ware	Rope Ware	Reference
1	Shahr 02	Seistan	Seistan/ Baluchistan	Iran	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
2	Shahr 07	Seistan	Seistan/ Baluchistan	Iran	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
3	Shahr 023	Seistan	Seistan/ Baluchistan	Iran	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
4	Shahr 030	Seistan	Seistan/ Baluchistan	Iran	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
5	Shahristan	Seistan	Seistan/ Baluchistan	Iran	-	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 341)
6	Begram	Bagram	Parwan	Afghanistan	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
7	Shotorak	Kuhi-i-Pahlawan	Kapisa	Afghanistan	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
8	Khair Khaneh	Kabul	Kabul	Afghanistan	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, pp. 339, 340)
9	Kot-kat-Dherai	Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa / Punjab	Pakistan	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
10	Shahidan	Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa / Punjab	Pakistan	Y	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
11	Surkh Dherai	Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
12	Shurkha-dherai	Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	-	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
13	Chichadherai	Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	-	Y	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
14	Chaudhwan	Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)
15	Dabra Mound	Tank - Dera Ismail Khan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Stein, 1929, p. 11)
16	Abakhel	Tank	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Stein, 1929, p. 13)
17	Ark-Ghundai	Bannu-Waziristan	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan			(Stein, 1929, p. 15)
18	Pato-Dherai/Budni Dherai	Peshawar	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	(Ali, 2003, pp. 58, 139, 217)
19	Sheikhan Dherai	Charsadda	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Dani, 1965, pp. 48, 39, 56)
20	Bala Hisar	Charsadda	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	Y	(Wheeler, 1962)
21	Charsadda I	Charsadda	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	(Halim, 1972, p. 112)

22	Dherai Zardad Dherakai A-D	Charsadda	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	(Ali, 2003, pp. 59, 156, 201)
23	Nimorai Dheri	Nowshera	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Jawad, 1996, pp. 218, 221)
24	Khakari Dheri IV	Nowshera	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Jawad, 1996, pp. 221, 229)
25	Khakari Dheri V	Nowshera	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Jawad, 1996, pp. 218, 221)
26	Butano Dheri	Nowshera	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Jawad, 1996, pp. 217, 221)
27	Hund	Swabi	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	-	(Khan I. , 2017, p. 206)
28	Khar Qamar	Bajaur	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Jawad, 1996, pp. 171, 175)
29	Mena	Bajaur	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		(Jawad, 1996, pp. 171, 175)
30	Amluk Dara	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	(Stein, 1930, p. 21)
31	Jurjurai, Dangaram	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	Stein, 1930, pp. 21, 46
32	Udegram	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	Y	Stein, 1930, pp. 21, 49
33	Birkot-Ghuwandai	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	Y	Stein, 1930, p. 21
34	Jampur Dherai - Charbagh	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	Stein, 1930, p. 21
35	Maizare Spur	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		Stein, 1930, pp. 21, 49
36	Chat	Swat	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y		Stein, 1930, pp. 21, 49
37	Site 70 - Darra	Lower Dir	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	Y	-	(Khan I. , 2017, p. 203)
38	Tauda Cheena	Lower Dir	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan	-	Y	(Khan I. , 2017, p. 201)
39	Damkot	Lower Dir	Khyber Pakhtunkhwa	Pakistan		Y	(Halim, 1972, p. 112)
40	Bhir Mound	Taxila	Punjab	Pakistan	Y	-	Fairservis, 1956, pp. 338, 340
41	Sirkap	Taxila	Punjab	Pakistan	Y	Y	Fairservis, 1956, pp. 338, 340
42	Sarai Khola	Taxila	Punjab	Pakistan	Y	-	(Halim, 1972, pp. 256-259)
43	Kundian - I	Mianwali	Punjab	Pakistan		Y	(Ali & Jan, 2005, pp. 11, 31, 48)
44	Tulambha	Sahiwal	Punjab	Pakistan	Y	-	(Mughal, 1967, pp. 23, 27)
45	Rang Mahal	Sri Ganganagar	Rajasthan	India	-	Y	(Dibyopama & Shinde, 2016)
46	Agroha	Hisar	Haryana	India	Y	-	(Fairservis, 1956, p. 339)

47	Mathelo/Mooma l-ji-Mari	Ghotki	Sind	Pakistan	Y		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 32)
48	Shah Shakar Ganj	Sukkar	Sind	Pakistan	Y		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 57)
49	Purani Sangrar/ Kot Mir Muhibullah Shah	Sukkar	Sind	Pakistan	Submission Draft - Tracking Buddhism ir		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 72)
50	Mamro	Sukkar	Sind	Pakistan	Y		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 80)
51	Misri Shah A	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 91)
52	Siraj-ji-Takri	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 86)
53	Saneso Waro Daro/ Sim waro Daro	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y		(Bukhari, 2010, p. 93)
54	Jamal Shah I	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y	Y	(Bukhari, 2010, p. 95)
55	Jamal Shah II	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y	Y	Bukhari, 2010, p. 95)
56	Jamal Shah III	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y	Y	Bukhari, 2010, p. 95)
57	Nango Pir	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y		Bukhari, 2010, p. 96)
58	Dubi	Khairpur	Sind	Pakistan	Y		Bukhari, 2010, p. 97)
59	Sirni Kot	Naushero Feroz	Sind	Pakistan	Y		Bukhari, 2010, p. 104)
60	Theriri Mehr Dil Fakhir Chandio	Shahdadk ot/Larkan a	Sind	Pakistan	Y		Bukhari, 2010, p. 149)

Declarations in Death:

A Brief Overview of the Expressions of Piety, Politics, and Identities in the Islamic Tombs of the Indian Subcontinent

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Abstract

During the medieval period, the function of Islamic mausolea and tombs was not limited simply to places of interment or commemoration, but they had, and some continue having significant social, political as well as religious values associated with them. Using case studies and general observations this paper examines how the form, placement, and ornamentation (including epigraphic content) of Islamic funerary architecture was employed by the patrons for the expression of state ideology, religious values, and dimensions of communal identity. Specimens discussed for this research are limited to those constructed between the twelfth and mid-seventeenth centuries in the Indian subcontinent. Moreover, for the purpose of clarity and conciseness the corpus of tombs examined are mainly the royal tomb of Delhi sultans and Mughal emperors, with some emphasis on the tribal tombs in the lower regions of the Indus Valley. The chronological development of these funerary structures is analyzed with reference to the religious, political and social situation of the contemporary time. Such an analysis provides important information about the history, ideology, religious values and economic status of their patrons in particular and their socio-cultural group in general. The research links architectural design features of Islamic tombs, including both form and function, with the sequential arrival of the rulers and the response of the indigenous Indian people. This correlation evinces their interpretation of the Islamic religion, the development of new construction techniques, in addition to many other social influences.

KeyWords

Indian Sub-Continent, funerary architecture, Islamic history, monumental tombs

Introduction

The disposal of the dead by the living, through various means ranging from cremation to water or earth burial, is an act practiced since pre-historic times. One of the most common method is that of earth burial, practiced by the followers of all Abrahamic religions, including Islam. Islamic doctrines, however, interdict any architectural glorification over the burial sites. Islam's disapproval of commemorative structures mainly arose from its core concept of monotheism and in an effort to separate the burial sites from becoming places of worship. The changes in religious beliefs and cultural habits of Muslims, mainly after the tenth century, are considered to have led to a sudden proliferation of Islamic funerary structures throughout the world.[1] Consequently, despite all the paradoxes, funerary monuments became one of the most ubiquitous of all the Islamic architectural typologies.

1
For details on the early development of Islamic funerary architecture, with reference to religious attitudes and concerns, see Leisten, T. (1990). Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Sharia toward Funerary Architecture. *Muqarnas, 7*, 12-22; Taylor, C. S. (1992). Reevaluating the Shii Role in the Development of Monumental Islamic Funerary Architecture: The Case of Egypt. *Muqarnas, 9*, 1-10.

Besides being places of interment or commemoration, the Islamic mausolea and tombs during the medieval period were and continue to have, social, political and religious values associated with them. Islamic tombs could be as humble as horizontal stele or could be as complex as having a variety of sub-structures attached to a magnificent funerary building. One can find in these complex mausolea almost all the significant features of Islamic architecture ranging from dome to *minār*, *iwān*, *mihrāb* and *pishtāq*; and above all, various forms of architectural decorations.

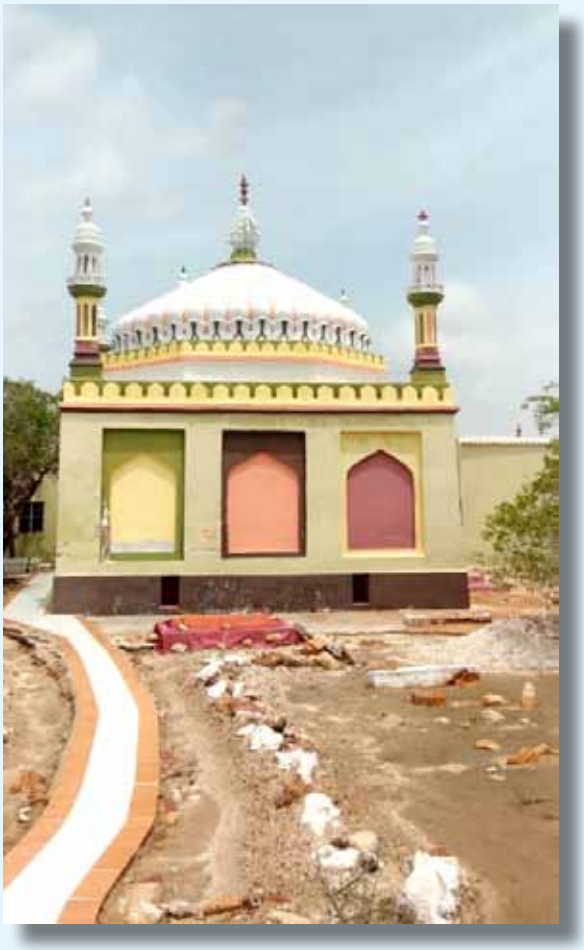

Fig. 1 Dargāh of Abu Turab near Gujjo, Thatta district after recent renovations

Thus, by studying the Islamic funerary monuments one can acquire substantial knowledge about the history, ideology, religious values and economic status of society during that time period. In this way, we can use the funerary monuments where we lack substantial contemporary literary sources of Islamic history. This research demonstrates how Islamic funerary rituals and monuments of a socio-cultural group could serve as elements for exploring their state ideology, religious values and dimensions of communal identity. To better comprehend the arguments, the examples used are discussed somewhat chronology, all constructed between the twelfth and mid-seventeenth centuries, mainly in the Indian subcontinent. At various occasions, however, cases from Iran and Central Asian regions are also quoted in support of the arguments.

The Muslim forces initiated the occupation of the southwestern coastal areas of Sindh and Baluchistan in 644, under the regime of the Rashidun Caliphate. These were the first lands in the Indian Sub-Continent to become a part of the Islamic empire. Much larger part of Sindh, later conquered by Syrian Arabs, became the easternmost province "Al-Sind" of first the Umayyads and then the Abbasid Empire. Due to insufficient archeological and textual evidences, very little information is available on the earliest Islamic buildings that were constructed by the Arabs in Sindh as early as the eighth century. As for the funerary structures, according to an eighteenth-century hagiographical source, a domed *dargāh* (shrine) of Shaykh Abu Turab (Fig. 1), a companion of the Abbasid governor of Sindh, was constructed in 171 H/ 788 CE in Gujjo near Thatta, Sindh.[2] This structure later departed from its original form as it has been renovated several times in the past few centuries. However, if the date that has been quoted is correct, then this could be one of the earliest examples of Islamic commemorative structures built for the dead.[3] At present however, the tomb of Nasir al-Din Mahmud (d. 1228) in Delhi, more commonly known as the tomb of Sultan Ghari, is considered to be the earliest standing monumental tomb in the Indian Sub-Continent.

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2 Alī Shīr Qāni. Thattavī, *Tuhfat al-Kirām (1767)*, ed. N. B. Khan Baloch, trans. Akhtar Rizvi, 3rd ed. (Jamshoro: Sindhi Adabi Board, 2006), 86, 765; M. H. Panhwar, *Chronological Dictionary of Sindh (From Geological Times to 1539 A.D)* (Karachi: Institute of Sindhology, University of Jamshoro, 1983), 169, 173.

3 If proved true through further research, this could change the ideas about the earliest commemorative structures built in Islamic history and take us almost 75 years back in placing the evolution of funerary architecture in Islamic history. For now, Qubbat al Sulaybiya built for Abbasid Caliph al-Muntasir in 862 AD, in Samarra, Iraq is considered to be the earliest tomb. See Grabar, O. (1966). The Earliest Islamic Commemorative Structures, Notes and Documents. *Ars Orientalis*, 7-46; Hillenbrand, R. (1994). *Islamic architecture: Form, function and meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.

The Sultanate Period: Tombs of the Slave Kings

In 1192, Qutb al-Din Aybak (r. 1206-1210), the Turkic slave General of the Ghaurid Sultan from Afghanistan invaded northern Indian lands. Later, in 1206 Qutb al-Din proclaimed independence and laid the foundation of an independent Muslim empire in India, the "Delhi Sultanate" of Mamluks (hence the slave kings). Nasir al-Din Mahmud was the grandson of Qutb al-Din Aybak. His tomb, built in 1231 by his father Sultan Sham al-Din Iltutmish (r. 1211-36), is not merely a tomb as it incorporates a mosque chamber complete with a mihrab and topped by a dome. The whole structure rests on a high plinth with an octagonal platform in the center with stairs, which lead to an octagonal burial chamber hidden below. The tomb lavishly makes use of Quranic epigraphy as part of its decorative program. The mausoleum of Sultan Iltutmish, also built in Delhi but one year after that of his son, is in contrast to Nasir al-Din's tomb - a rather smaller structure in size, and certainly humbler as compared to the royal tombs built later in India. This tomb is square in plan, was probably topped by a dome that no longer survives, and an octagonal transitional space formed with squinches at all four corners. In form, it resembles the earliest Islamic square tomb - the tomb of Samanids at Bukhara (datable before 943). The Samanids tomb is closely related to the *chahār-tāq*[4] form of pre-Islamic Sassanian fire temples.[5] Where the tomb of Samanids is lavishly decorated in *hazār-baf*[6] technique, Iltutmish's tomb with its stone carved epigraphic program is the most lavishly inscribed building of the Sultanate period.[7]

The tombs of Nasir al-Din and Sultan Iltutmish both use indigenous post-lintel trabeated construction techniques. The corbelled domes and arches of trabeated construction techniques, used in Hindu temples, were utilized in the early period Islamic structures of northern India. The corner squinches in Iltutmish's tomb, however, suggest that the dome above was a true dome rather than the indigenous false-corbelled dome.[8] This exemplifies how their invading patrons introduced new techniques in the built environment of India and consequently, how the indigenous Indian craftsmanship responded to the patrons' demands. The epigraphic program of both tombs also indicates that the Quranic verses were selected with grave considerations in an effort to enhance the symbolic significance of architectural elements and features used in the tombs. The theme of epigraphy in Nasir al-Din's tomb suggests that it was also intended to function as a center for pilgrimage.[9] In both tombs, the Quranic verses inscribed around the *mihrāb* indicate the importance of worship and promise of paradise in return, directed specifically towards the Muslim believers. The verses on other surfaces address the larger non-Muslim population and warn them against their awaiting fate, if they did not embrace the true faith. This epigraphic program puts great emphasis on marking a new era in the history of Indian Sub-Continent, that is the emergence of Islam.[10]

Both of these early Islamic tombs thus suggest that earliest Muslim rulers of India felt responsible to warn and guide their subjects towards the right faith.

4 *Chahār-tāq* literally means four doors or four openings and refers to a square structure with openings on all four sides. *Chahār-tāqs* of Sassanian period were holy structures and incorporated religious symbolism. The early Islamic tombs fashioned after *chahār-tāq* form were also mentioned as scared structures in primary literary sources. For more information see Daneshvari, A. (1986). *Medieval Tomb Towers of Iran: An Iconographical Study*. Lexington: Mazdâ Publishers.

5 For information on Zoroastrian and Sassanian influences on early Iranian funerary architectural forms see Hillenbrand, R. (1994). *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.

6 *Hazār-baf* is an elaborate Persian and Central Asian architectural decorative technique using bricks.

7 Welch, A. (1985). Qur□an and Tomb: The Religious Epigraphs of Two Early Sultanate Tombs in Delhi. *Indian Epigraphy: It's Bearing on the History of Art*, 256-67.

8 Bunce, F. W. (2004). *Islamic Tombs in India: The Iconography and Genesis of their Design*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, pp. 38.

9 Welch, A. (1985). Qur□an and Tomb: The Religious Epigraphs of Two Early Sultanate Tombs in Delhi. *Indian Epigraphy: It's Bearing on the History of Art*, 256-67.

10 Ibid.

Though some of their subjects were adherents of different forms of Islam, yet a large population in India was non-Muslim, and both were active parts of the society, being employed in the architectural projects together. As the tomb of Nasir al-Din was intended to become a pilgrimage center, therefore, the patrons wanted to use architecture as a media to guide their subjects on a larger scale. This means that the patrons expected the visitors to read the epigraphy, which was selected in accordance to the symbolic function of the architectural elements. This suggests that the craftsmen as well as the public might have some level of educated background. The presence of a mosque in Nasir al-Din's tomb parallels this monument to the mosque shrines; probably following the Persian and Central Asia Sufi traditions, implicating that constant prayer would exalt the status of the deceased and bring him additional merit. Thus, the orthodox religious doctrines, which attempt to prevent tombs from becoming houses of worship, were interdicted right from the beginning of the Islamic rule in India in favor of the 'popular' religious doctrines of Sufism. Hence, it can be inferred that although the Sultan of Delhi and their Muslim subjects were fairly religious and pious figures, not all were, however, strictly orthodox.

The Sultanate Period: Tombs of the Tughlaq Patrons

Ghiyas al-Din Balban (d. 1287), the ninth slave Sultan of Delhi, was a patron of this 'popular' dimension of Islam. Many Sufi saints and mystics settled in India during his reign and became an important part of the religious, social and political setup. This aspect of the religion was greatly promoted by the Tughlaq Sultans, who built monumental shrines for the Sufi saints, marking an era of great developments regarding Sufi traditions, as well as Islamic funerary architecture. The mausoleum of Suhrawardiyya Sufi Shaykh Rukn al-Din Abu al-Fateh (d. 1335) at Multan, built in 1320, certainly is an ideal case to examine in this respect. The mausoleum was constructed by Sultan Ghiyath al-Din Tughlaq (r. 1320-25), originally intended as his own tomb.[11] Later, Ghiyath al-Din bestowed this tomb to his spiritual guide and advisor, Shaykh Rukn al-Din *alias* Rukn-i-Alam. The tomb, with its elaborate architectural features, for example, the octagonal plan form, circular battered bastions at each corner, and decorative detailing, fits squarely within the traditions of late Seljuq architecture and represents the Turco-Iranian background of its patron.[12] This finest pre-Mughal Islamic tomb also marks a major shift in the ideologies of state and religion during Tughlaq dynastic period (1320-1413). It suggests the transfer of religious power from *ulama*, the legal scholars and arbiters of *sharia* (Islamic law), to mystic saints and *awliyā*. Such Sufi saint often acted as prime intermediaries between the ruling elites/political establishment and the general population.[13] The powerful shrine structure of Rukn-i Alam also evinces the considerable political power the saint must have gained by becoming an ambassador of Islamic faith for the whole empire. Thus, it is quite reasonable that he received such a monumental mausoleum as his final abode, which uses a tri-partite (three-tiered) domed arrangement - a form dedicated to venerated figures.

Later, Ghiyath al-Din Tughlaq made a somewhat humble structure for his internment, compared to the tomb of Rukn-i Alam; yet he did promote the idea of placing the tombs in formal garden settings. This idea became a trademark for the royal tombs of the Indian Sub-continent. Delhi Sultans took the gardens around their tombs as metaphors for *Jannah al-Firdaws* (Garden of Eden or the garden of paradise), as promised to the faithful by God in the Quran. These ideas became the basis for many royal tombs that were constructed in the succeeding dynastic periods, for instance, during the rule of Sultan Sher Shah Sur (r. 1538-1545).

The Monumental Tombs of the Sur and Mughal Emperors

A pious and just ruler, as well as a great military and

11 Page, J. B. (2007). *Indian Islamic Architecture: Forms and Typologies, Sites and Monuments*. Brill Academic Pub, pp.6.

12 Hillenbrand, R. (1992). Turco-Iranian Elements in the Medieval Architecture of Pakistan: The Case of the Tomb of Rukn-I Alam at Multan. *Muqarnas*, 9, 148-174.

13 Taylor, C. S. (1999). *In the Vicinity of the Righteous*. Boston:Brill Academic Pub. pp-14.

administrative strategist, Sher Shah is famous for being the only emperor of India who invested more in public and utilitarian architecture. However, that image slightly alters on viewing the tomb of Sher Shah, built in his lifetime at Sasaram (Bihar) in c. 1545. It is a monumental three-storied octagonal structure placed in the middle of a gigantic artificial lake, giving a paradisiac impression to the whole site. At the time of its construction, it was the largest tomb in India, placed in an extraordinary setting. Thus, the tomb glorifies Sher Shah as an ideal ruler worthy of great honor. Another theory proposed by scholars is that such unexpected adoration of his own funerary structure in fact highlights Sher Shah's insecurities of not being considered a legitimate ruler by his subjects and contemporary rulers.[14] These insecurities possibly resulted from Sher Shah, belonging to a humble lineage of Afghan nobles, had snatched the Indian empire from Nasir al-Din Humayun (r. 1530-1540; 1555-1556), the second Mughal emperor. As the Mughals traced their lineage to the great Turco-Mongol Amir Timur (d. 1405), a great conqueror and builder, it is quite possible that Sher Shah felt the need to physically assert his worth and legitimacy, through a monumental and impressive tomb structure.

The Sur dynasty came to an abrupt end when Humayun recaptured the empire in 1555. Humayun, however, never got a chance to plan his burial as he died in an accident the following year. His successor, Jalal al-Din Muhammad Akbar - the great Mughal (r. 1556-1605), built his mausoleum at Delhi in 1571. This monument displays an ostentatious scale, high drum, double dome, lofty arched *iwāns* and radially symmetrical plan. The plan consists of an octagonal central chamber, flanked by four corner chambers, entirely based on Timurid models.[15] The red sandstone and white marble for the domes, on the other hand, place this monument in the Sultanate period Indo-Islamic context. The gardens around the tomb, however, are planned on the model of Persian garden traditions called *chahār-bāgh*. The characteristics of *chahār-bāgh* are based on the ideals of the Garden of Eden, as described in the Quran. *Chahār-bāgh* literally means the four-fold garden, as its design indicates. In this design, the number 4 is considered a perfect number symbolizing completeness and representing paradise in the real world.[16] From here onwards, *chahār-bāgh* gardens became an integral component of imperial Mughal tombs, representing the promised paradise for the faithful leaders of Islam. Through this ostentatious mausoleum for his father, Jalal al-Din Akbar thus emphasized the Timurid ancestry of the Mughals and adoration for Persian garden traditions. This mausoleum also stresses upon the unorthodoxy in religious beliefs for erecting grand scale commemorative structure and making peace with already established Indo-Islamic building legacies. These ideologies were again accentuated at Agra, when the most celebrated funerary monument in the world, the Taj Mahal, was completed in 1654 by the fifth Mughal emperor, Shahab al-Din Muhammad Shah Jahan (r. 1628-58). Here the plan form, based on the Persian *hasht-bihist* concept, also reached its zenith showing greater influences from the Persian lands.[17]

It is noteworthy that not all Mughal emperors felt the need to project their powerful and ostentatious image as a ruler. Zahir al-Din Babur (d. 1530), the first Mughal emperor of India, had desired a simple and open burial for himself. Babur's tomb in Bagh-e Babur near Kabul (Afghanistan), now destroyed, was raised on a plinth with a low height marble screen surrounding it, but without any cover to keep the grave open to the sky.[18] This appears to have followed

14 Asher, C. B. (1988). Legacy and Legitimacy: Sher Shah's Patronage of Imperial Mausolea. *Shariat and Ambiguity in South Asian Islam, Berkeley and Los Angeles*, 79-97.

15 Brand, M. (1993). Orthodoxy, Innovation, and Revival: Considerations of the Past in Imperial Mughal Tomb Architecture. *Muqarnas*, 10, 323-334.

16 Bunce, F. W. (2004). *Islamic Tombs in India: The Iconography and Genesis of their Design*. New Delhi: D.K. Printworld, p.241.

17 *Hasht-bihisht* literally means "the eight heavens or the eight paradises." It is a cosmological concept used on several occasions as the title of literary works, or as the name of a particular architectural form in Persian, Turkish, and Indian contexts. For more information see Electricpulp.com. (2003). Encyclopædia Iranica. Retrieved November 06, 2019, from http://www.iranicaonline.org/articles/hast-behest-2

18 For more information see Zajadacz-Hastenrath, S.

the Central Asian tradition that became exceptionally popular under the Timurid royal patronage, as exemplified in the shrine of Khwaja Abdullah Ansari (d. 1088) at Gazur Gah (outside Herat). The remarkable funerary enclosure of Abdullah Ansari, commissioned in 1425 CE by the Timurid Sultan Shah Rukh (r. 1405-1447), adopts what is known as the "*hazīra*" form, which scholars have argued to symbolize Ansari's orthodox Hanbali viewpoint against the construction of roofed funerary monuments.[19] The *hazīra* conforms to the concept of *taswīyah al-qubūr* (leveling of all tombs to the ground to alleviate the corpse's suffering in death), which primarily indicates the notion of equality of all believers in death, as it should be practiced in life.[20] In the context of Indian subcontinent, a humble burial was desired by Aurangzeb Alamgir (r. 1658-1707), the sixth Mughal emperor. Aurangzeb, who is well-known for his orthodoxy in religious practices, ordered during his life for his final resting place to be an ordinary edifice destined to be forgotten. Hence, the mighty Mughal sovereign after his death was buried in an insignificant, open to sky *hazīra* type tomb in Khuldabad (Maharashtra, India), in notable contrast to the imposing and lavish tombs of his predecessors.[21]

However, Akbar's tomb at Sikandra (near Agra) presents a different story altogether. A few features common between Akbar's tomb and Humayun's tomb include the *chahār-bāgh* and the choice in building materials. Completed in 1613, Akbar'stombis an unusual Mughal period structure.[22] This tomb has a five-tiered pyramidal form. The pyramidal form was earlier seen in the remarkable, yet odd, structure of *Minār-i Zarrīn* or the Golden Minar at Firuzabad, built by Firuz Shah Tughlaq (r. 1351-88). This building in its tiered form "recalls the cosmic mountain of Hindu temple architecture, which the Tughlaqs could have easily seen in structures like the fifth-century stepped temple at Harwan, near Srinagar."[23] Akbar's tomb uses architectural elements like *chattrīs* (a significantly Indian element) instead of domes (a symbol of Islamic architecture) and red sandstone along with white marble for these *chattrīs.* Ornamentation and form, therefore, place the monument in its local pre-Mughal and pre-Islamic context and depict the era of socio-cultural and socio-religious tolerance in India. This extraordinary monument befits the emperor who resides here. As far as the epigraphic program in the tomb is concerned, Persian text and poetry is uniformly used. The inscriptions over the gateway clearly read, "These are the gardens of Eden, enter them to live forever."[24] Such texts equate the tomb to the Garden of Eden and declare immortality for Akbar, who was a complex man; a great builder; a brave conqueror and a mystic figure. Surrounded by conservative Islamic advisors, Akbar faced disapproving vibes when he initiated theological salons at his court. These salons had Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Jesuit and Muslim representations, where all the religious ideologies were discussed and debated upon openly.[25] Finally, he introduced a new religious division in Islam namely "*Dīn e-Ilāhī*," which he claimed was grounded in all religions of the world. Akbar's tomb, drawing on his religious and political ideologies,

(1997). A Note on Babur's Lost Funerary Enclosure at Kabul. *Muqarnas*, 14, 135-142

19 Maria Eva Subtelny, "The Cult of Abdullāh Ansārī Under the Timurids," in *Gott Ist Schön Und Er Liebt Die Schönheit/God Is Beautiful and He Loves Beauty: Festschrift in Honour of Annemarie Schimmel* (Bern: Peter Lang, 1994), 377–406; Golombek and Wilber, *The Timurid Architecture of Iran and Turan*, 1:308–11.

20 Leisten, T. (1990). Between Orthodoxy and Exegesis: Some Aspects of Attitudes in the Sharia toward Funerary Architecture, *Muqarnas*, 7, 12-22.

21 Audrey Truschke (2017). *Aurangzeb: The Life and Legacy of India's Most Controversial King*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press. Chapter 1.

22 Brand, M. (1993). Orthodoxy, Innovation, and Revival: Considerations of the Past in Imperial Mughal Tomb Architecture. *Muqarnas*, 10, 323-334.

23 Welch, A. (1993). Architectural Patronage and the Past: The Tughluq Sultans of India. *Muqarnas*, 10, 311-322.

24 Begley, W. E. (1979). The Myth of the Taj Mahal and a New Theory of its Symbolic Meaning. *Art Bulletin,* 61 (1), 5-60.

25 Bunce, F. W. (2004). *Islamic Tombs in India: The Iconography and Genesis of their Design*. New Delhi: D.K. Print world. p.130.

indicates his tolerance towards non-Muslim subjects – a fact also supported by contemporary textual sources. All these examinations allow us to assume that Akbar's India was a more openly practicing syncretic society, where non-Muslims enjoyed great privileges in comparison to the reigns of Akbar's ancestors as well as predecessors. The epigraphy on the tomb uses Persian text in favor of the Quranic verses and declares that the deceased emperor has already pleased God, and therefore, been granted eternal life. This demonstrates that Akbar, and possibly his craftsmen, were certainly unorthodox Muslims.[26] Furthermore, they had contradicting beliefs regarding death, resurrection and judgment, which according to Islamic doctrines will only be done on the *yaūm al-Qiyāmah* (Day of Judgment).[27]

Tombs of the Tribal Chiefs from Baluchistan and Sindh

Unorthodox attitudes of Muslims on a macro level can be presented more clearly in another case, that of Nekodaris of Kharan in Baluchistan, the northwest region of the Indian Sub-Continent. In this dry flat land of sand and gravel, located near a settlement called Gawachig, are found a group of fifty-seven remarkable square domed funerary buildings called Nausherwani tombs of Nekodari tribal people.[28] This group of artifacts shows unconventional funerary rituals of collective burial, as practiced by the Muslim population of the region during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. These tombs have as many as fifty-two people buried in one tomb with burial chambers on two floors. The upper floor has just one burial chamber, probably used for an important figure or tribal chief, while the chambers on the lower floor carry remains of several bodies placed together in each chamber. In addition, instead of burying the dead, their sarcophagi were placed above the floors of these chambers. Among all these tombs only one tomb can be identified through an inscription, and probably belongs to the *amīr* (chief) of Nekodari tribe.[29] The district gazetteer of 1906 records that the inscription reads: *Mazār-e-Nekōdār* (Tomb of Nekodar).[30]

These tombs demonstrate that the Nekodaris practiced above-ground as well as collective burials, which are strictly prohibited in Islamic doctrines. Other cases of collective burial among Muslims of the Indian Sub-Continent of the Punyal Valley in Gilgit has also been recorded. These tombs from Gilgit buried the members of a single family together, which is not the case in the tombs of Nekodaris as they are representatives of their tribe rather than individual families.[31] It can be inferred that the Nekodaris, being the newly converted Muslims, either deliberately practiced non-Islamic burial rituals or were unaware of the Muslim burial rites. It is quite possible that they were following the Iranian pre-Islamic Zoroastrian practices of exposing the corpses on raised platforms called *dakhmās*.[32]

26 Akbar's invention of a new religion "Dīn e-Ilāhī" asserts to the fact that he was an unorthodox Muslim. Some Islamic scholars even believe that he did not remain a Muslim altogether when he invented a new religion and proclaimed himself a prophet, thus committing apostasy.

27 Here the idea of unconventional Islamic beliefs is taken as a deliberate point of ending the discussion over Mughal tombs and Islamic tombs of northern India in general. This is done to include some interesting examples from southern regions to analyze the basic ideas of this paper.

28 These funerary monuments are known as the Nausherwani tombs, after the leading family of the district. Salman Rashid has tried to investigate the historical roots of these people and monuments but the study has only been published as a non-academic article. See: https://tribune.com.pk/story/250796/naushervani-tombs

29 Nekodaris were nomadic tribal people of Turkish and Mongol ancestry. According to the list of tribal chiefs given in the Gazetteer of Kharan (1906), one name appears as Amir Nausherwan. He died in a battle in Yazd, around the mid-fourteenth century.

30 For detailed information on Nausherwani tombs and the origin of Nekodaris see: Hasan, S. K. (2001). Naushserwani Tombs in Kharan, Baluchistan in The Islamic Architectural Heritage of Pakistan: Funerary Memorial Architecture. Karachi: Royal Book Company. pp. 39-46.

31 For details on collective burials from Gilgit see Jettmar, K. (1967). The Middle Asiatic Heritage of Dardistan (Islamic Collective Tombs in Punyal and their Background. East and West, 17 (1/2), IsIAO, Rome.

32 For more information on dakhmās and their influences on early Islamic funerary architecture see Hillenbrand, R. (1994). Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 274.

Gunbad-i-Qabus – the tomb of Shams al-Ma ali Qabus, built in early eleventh century in Gurgan, Iran was also modeled after Zoroastrian *dakhmās*. This early Islamic tomb is a flanged cylindrical and slightly tapering tower with a conical roof. Near contemporary literary sources report that instead of burying the body, Shams Qabus's glass coffin was suspended inside the tower from the ceiling.[33]

In the Nausherwani tombs, however, collective and above the ground burial traditions are not the only remarkable features. The ornamentation is also notable in these tombs. The tombs are decorated with terracotta tablets fixed on the façades, which bore carved images of wheels, jagged hills, waves, hand and footprints and different geometric designs. Figural images such as horses, camels and peacocks are also found on some of these tombs. Figural representation in Islamic tombs, never enjoyed as much popularity as in the tombs along the southern belt of the Indian Sub-continent, especially in the province of Sindh from where the Islamic architecture of the whole region began. It is important to note here that figural representation in venerated and religious buildings is another phenomenon that Islamic ideology discourages.[34]

Despite the Islamic resistance to images, the Sindhi tombs belonging to almost all Muslim dynastic period, reigning between the fourteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, show figural images as the main theme in their ornamentation. This is true for the tombs found in Thatta, Hyderabad, Karachi, Taung, Oogar and Sonda in Sindh or even as far towards the south at Sonmiani in Baluchistan.[35] The most notable are the *chaūkhandī* type tombs of Sindh.[36] The *chaūkhandī* tombs use carved sandstone

33 Hillenbrand, R. (1994). *Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 276. Hillenbrand, R. (1994). Islamic Architecture: Form, Function, and Meaning. New York: Columbia University Press. p. 276.

34 On the prohibition of figural art in Islam, see a short note on "Figural Representation in Islamic Art." In Heilbrunn Timeline of Art History. New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Retrieved August 18, 2019, from https://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/figs/hd_figs.htm

35 Hasan, S. K. (1996). Chaukhandi Tombs in Pakistan. Karachi: Royal Book Company.

36 Chaūkhandī type of tombs are specific to the regions of Sind and Baluchistan in Pakistan. The word Chaūkhandī is

Fig. 2 Chaūkhanḍī tomb in Makli necropolis from the Samma dynastic period

Fig. 3 Elaborately ornamented chaūkhanḍī cenotaphs in Shah Hussayn Cemetery in Sindh (height represents higher status)

Fig. 4 Fifteenth-century cenotaph with fluted truban element inside a ruined tomb in Makli Hill, Thatta.

Fig. 5 Cenotaph in Makli necropolis with palm-tree like motifs

caskets placed over one another in stepped form (Fig. 2). They are unique in their decoration and construction.[37] The number of caskets used in the tomb depicts the socio-political and economic status of the dead (Fig. 3). The decorative program of these tombs also reveals a great amount of knowledge regarding the religious, socio-economic and cultural identities of the deceased, as well as their contemporary communities. For instance, as seen in the case of a fifteenth-century cenotaph inside a ruined tomb on Makli Hill, Thatta. This cenotaph has a fluted turban as part of its topmost slab (Fig. 4). Turbans on top of sarcophagi are common features found in *chaūkhandī* type tombs and represent, among other characteristics, the male gender of the deceased. The Makli cenotaph also has palm-tree like motifs carved all around it (Fig. 5). According to Islamic theology, palm tree symbolizes a scholar, a noble or a wise man that imparts his knowledge and wisdom to others. These features, therefore, indicate

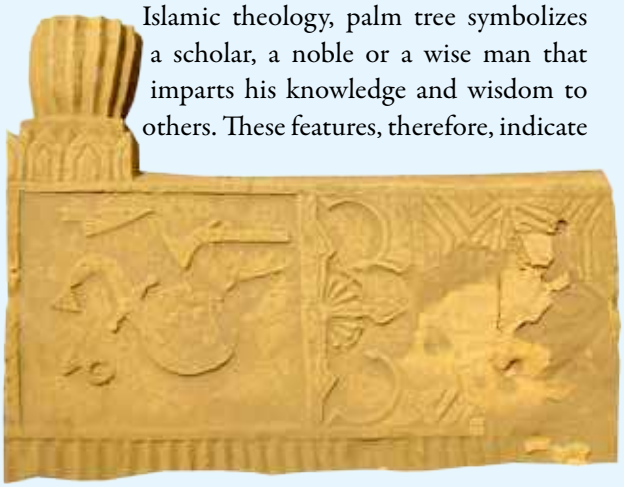

Fig. 6 Topmost slab of ruined chaūkhanḍī cenotaph from cemetery near Oongar (southern Sindh).

that this cenotaph from Makli belongs to a male member of the community who was of nobility, and probably educated background, and enjoyed an exalted position in the community.

Another example supporting our arguments is the visual representations on the tombs in the Necropolis

also used for a cemetery 29 km east of Karachi. This cemetery holds unraveling collection of the Chaūkhandī sarcophagi. For more information see Zajadacz-Hastenrath, S. (2001) Chaukhandi Tombs: Funerary Art in Sind and Baluchistan. Karachi: Oxford University Press.

37 *Chaūkhandī tombs are locally also called Gharriyoon (the chiselled ones), Pathar-jun-qabroon or Rumis (embellished tombs).*

of Oongar, Sindh. *Chaūkhandī* tombs of Oongar have carved images of equestrians and weaponry such as shields, axes and spears, on almost all the tombs (Fig. 6). The ornamentation on these aids in assuming that the tombs belong to people who were soldiers by profession. Also, they were probably martyrs, considered heroes and celebrated figures to receive such embellishment and commemoration after their death. Literary records also support these assumptions and show that these tombs belonged to warriors of the Jakhra and the Burfat tribes, who fought at the battle of Siri around the middle of the eighteenth century.[38]

Many necropolises along the southern coastal belt of Sindh also have *chattrī* (parasol) type tombs, which are derived from the *mandapa* forms, the sacred pillared halls in Indian temples. These *chattrī* tombs in Sindh are always topped by a pre-Islamic Indic element called *kalāśa*, as seen in the so-called tomb of Jam Tamachi in Makli necropolis (Fig. 7).[39] *Kalāśa* in Hindu iconography is the personification of an item in the hands of deities containing the elixir of life. In Jainism, it represents the right faith and the right knowledge. The use of such element over the tomb of Jam Tamachi symbolizes the resting place of a virtuous sovereign who had been offered the eternal life after death. The tribal funerary art of Sindh shows countless incidents where elements modeled after Hindu and Jain mythologies and figural themes in the ornamentation were used on the Islamic tombs.[40] This demonstrates that the Muslim communities of Sindh had hybrid religious and cultural habits, greatly influenced by non-Muslim communities. Or these hybrid identities could also be reminiscent of

38 Kalhoro, Z. A. (2009). Tombstones of Fallen Heroes. *Suomen Antropologi: Journal of the Finnish Anthropological Society* 34 (3).

39 Jam Tamachi was the first autonomous Samma Sultan of Sindh who died in the late fourteenth century. For details on this tomb, see: Lari, Suhail Zaheer and Lari, Yasmeen (1997). *The Jewel of Sindh: Samma Monuments on Makli Hill*. Karachi: Oxford University Press & Heritage Foundation. p. 112-117.

40 For a detailed discussion on a variety of tribal tombs in Sindh, see: Kalhoro, Z. A. (2014). *Perspectives on the Art and Architecture of Sindh*. Karachi: Endowment Fund Trust.

their original Hindu culture, as most Sindhi tribes converted to Islam only in the late medieval period.

Conclusion

Hence, the funerary art, architecture and rituals can help us gather a lot of information about societal values. The Sultanate period Islamic tombs in the Indian Sub-continent show that the Sultans of Delhi felt responsible to guide their Muslims as well as non-Muslims subjects towards the right faith as they were the progenitors of Islam. These tombs also suggest that 'popular' religious beliefs, such as *ziyāra* (popular pilgrimage), were part of the Islamic empire of India right from the beginning of the Islamic rule. Furthermore, the Sultans of Delhi and their Muslim subjects were fairly religious, however, they were not strictly orthodox. The 'popular' religion was greatly enhanced by the later Sultans, especially in the Tughlaq period when the finest pre-Mughal shrines were built in India. This era also marked a major shift in the ideologies of state and religion when Sufi saints gained considerable religious, political and social powers. The Sultans of Delhi also initiated the important instances in architectural history by placing their tombs in formal garden settings. In doing so, they announced their belief in the Day of Judgment but also predicted and celebrated their fate beforehand. These ideas became the basis for many royal tombs that were constructed in the subsequent

Fig. 7 The so-called chattrī tomb of Jam Tamachi in Makli necropolis

dynastic periods, the most notable among them being the four-fold *chahār-bāgh* gardens around the Mughal tombs, based on the ideals of the Garden of Eden as described in the Quran.

These monumental tomb traditions also signify that for the Dehli Sultans and Mughal emperors, funerary structures were very important for their identities. In the Islamic history of northern India, these structures kept on developing and becoming more ostentatious than the previous. The emperors displayed their power and legitimacy to rule using these tombs. In between, however, humble funerary structures are also observed, such as the tomb of Babur and Aurangzeb, who preferred the *hazīra* type tombs rather than the magnificent structures. This shows the orthodox religious values of both of these Mughal emperors in contrast to Akbar and Shah Jahan, who flamboyantly projected their image as powerful rulers and descendants from Timurid lineage. Akbar's tomb also evinces his connection to the Indian culture and that non-Muslims enjoyed considerable positions in his era.

Nonetheless, the funerary art of the southwestern and western regions of the Indian Sub-continent, show that some Muslim communities living in these areas had rare burial rituals and practices. Additionally, these communities greatly used figural representations in tombs as part of their decorative themes. This was due to the fact that almost all Muslim tribes of Sindh and Baluchistan were indigenous Hindu Rajputs who had converted to Islam in the medieval centuries. Also, due to the political policies of the rulers of this region, many Hindu, Jain and Zoroastrian communities lived freely among the Muslim communities. This shows that the medieval population of Sindh and Baluchistan was multi-faith and multi-cultural. This syncretic population kept on influencing the Islamic funerary art of the region and produced monuments, which may not compare to the Sultanate and Mughal tombs in scale and grandiosity, but certainly have unique characteristics of their own.

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Architectural Education and Culture: Review of Literature and Synthesis of Linkage Model through Communication Theories

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Abstract:

This paper will justify the core argument that the two entities; architectural education and culture are connected to each other while having several dimensions and applications to many disciplines. It also signifies that these both entities are communicated to society in a distinct manner according to its context where anthropological sense of culture and disciplinary position of architectural education have been sanctioned by society. Having a capacity in terms of theoretical and practical aspects, in tangible and intangible forms, integrated in architectural education; culture is explorable in several aspects, cultural sensitivity being one of them. It will establish the linkage between Architectural Education and Communication Theories while focusing on architectural education and its relation to culture to underpin the linkage. This paper aims to explore the connection of culture and architectural education through means of communication being common ground between two. The research adopts qualitative method through literature review for developing a conceptual framework to identify the "undefined means" in theory of Architectural Reception and "channel" in Theory of Communication. It explores the connection of two entities; Architectural Education and Culture through their common application ground as society, of which both are attributes. The findings identify that cultural sensitivity exists as "channel" to communicate the content through the "mean" of architectural education, when the linkage between architectural education and culture is explored. It concludes in the development of a model of architectural education and cultural sensitivity presenting their linkages signifying cultural sensitivity as an effective attribute of architectural education.

Key Words: Architectural Education, Culture, Cultural Sensitivity, Communication.

1. Introduction:

Architectural education in all its social and educational respects has a well-established history of evolution. It has come a long way to arrive at its present form of curriculum driven academic structure after being merged, translated and derived from various factors. While it has always been connected to society through its application, it has also been embedded within cultural aspects. Architectural education also serves as a medium to connect architecture and a specific cultural setting, i.e society. The changing attribute of culture has vastly contributed to the present form of architectural education. In order to connect architectural education to society in an effective manner, there is a need to identify the possible linkages that are imperative to assess the cultural values. In this regard, architectural education is dealt as an effective mode of communication to society through its application in several forms. The attributes of architectural education, which respond well to the societal requirements, need to be translated and communicated in best of their form so as to benefit the society. Cultural sensitivity is explored here as a potential effective attribute of architectural education. Some of the significant theories are discussed here to establish a connecting theoretical framework.

2. Research Premise And Objectives:

This research initially presents an argument that architectural education is communicated to the society in a specific cultural setting through some means that requires to be identified. The exploration in this research takes into account the existing communication theories available in literature on which these mean/s may be based upon. Therefore, there is a need to signify and establish the linkage between architectural education and culture based on the common grounds of their communication to the society. In this regard, it is anticipated that communication models that have been developed through history may contribute in identifying the knowledge gap that exists in the continuity and translation of communication models into architectural reception.

The broader objectives of this research originate from the contemporary considerations about the linkage between architectural education and culture. Since both entities are being communicated to the society through several means, it is important to establish a clear prospect as to how these two have been in strong connection with each other since past times. Moreover, it is also significant to highlight that the future deliberations of linking architectural education to culture are being communicated not only in individual societies, but also in a holistic manner through world forums like UNESCO and RIBA. These forums have been discussing the value and use of culture in built environment of several societies, yet a very minimal focus has been laid towards architectural education specifically. While at the same time the formal architectural education is potentially linked with cultural values. Hence, it shares a common ideology which is likely to flourish in future for several societies in the dissemination of architectural education. Therefore, the main objectives of research are firstly, to synthesise an integrative literature and secondly to establish a linkage between architectural education and cultural sensitivity in an appropriate form which can be further explored for future research.

3. Methodology:

This research basically adopts a qualitative approach for the exploration and uses the method of literature review. There are different kinds of literature review that any qualitative research can use. Researchers have described that the commonly used type of literature review as semi-systematic review generally adopts the type of analysis which can be useful for detecting themes, theoretical perspectives, or common issues within a specific research discipline or methodology or for identifying components of a theoretical concept (Ward, House, & Hamer, 2009). Although this research accommodates some features of semi-systematic literature review like overview of the research area and historical developments, yet it requires some additions to establish the findings in a specific manner i.e the synthesis of a model. Therefore, in addition to semi-systematic review, it further focuses on the integrative literature review method which has been described by scholars as an effective and useful method of reviewing literature for social sciences. Snyder, (2019) quotes scholarly description of integrative literature review which usually has a different purpose, in research methods with the aim to assess, critique, and synthesize the literature on a research topic in a way that enables new theoretical frameworks and perspectives to emerge. (Torraco,2005). He further explains that the purpose of integrative literature review is usually not to cover all articles ever published on the topic but rather to combine perspectives and insights from different fields or research traditions. It is also an important factor that an integrative review method should result in the advancement of knowledge and theoretical frameworks, rather than in a simply overview or description of a research area. That is, it should not be descriptive or historical type of review only but should preferably generate a new conceptual framework or theory. (Torraco,2005).

4. Theoretical Framework:

The core idea of this research takes into account the concept of Hermeneutics, which is the science of interpretation and has been widely used since the beginning of 17th century. Hermeneutics is a Latin version of a Greek term “Hermeneutic” meaning to interpret and it states about texts as a form of expression of ideas (later expressed as a variable of culture), and has been used by Plato in a number of dialogues before being formally used as a philosophical theory by Hans-Georg Gadamer in twentieth century. Gadamer’s philosophical theory presented Hermeneutics

as a notion to clarify further the conditions in which understanding, or interpretation takes place itself, instead of developing a procedure of understanding or interpretation. Hermeneutics has been used and applied to several knowledge areas depending upon the wide range of its definitions. It is this characteristic of the term, that enables it to be interpreted effectively and allows it to be considered as the mother of many theories in social sciences. (Palmer, 1999) has mentioned thirty-six different fields of human activity in relevance to Hermeneutics. Gallagher (1992) has gathered a collection of definitions of Hermeneutics from various historical and scholarly sources. He highlights differences and commonalities in conceptions of hermeneutics while elaborating different definitions. Some of these which are significantly relevant to further development of theoretical framework for coordinating the relationship of culture and communication. Hermeneutics was defined broadly by several scholars by considering different aspects broadly. Some of the definitions are very relevant here such as " the art of understanding" (Schleiermacher, 1833), "task of understanding texts" (Palmer, 1980), "study of the explicit and implicit rules governing textual commentary" (Ricoeur, 1981), "critique of historical reason" (Dilthey, 1911), "phenomenological analysis of human existence" (Heidegger, 1927), "letting the cultural and historical distances speak again by written word or character" (Gadamer, 1960), and above all "theory or philosophy of the interpretation of meaning" (Bleicher, 1980). These deliberations highlight the multidimensional properties of hermeneutics and its tendency to be applied in several social science disciplines.

Furthermore, Gallagher has traced the development of hermeneutics theory through writings of Romantics, Dilthey, Husserl, Heidegger and Gadamer. He also simplifies the origin and application of hermeneutics by categorizing it into four approaches:

1. Conservative Hermeneutics: Based on concepts of the scholars in nineteenth century by Schleiermacher and Dilthey, hermeneutics refers to the interpretation which aims to reproduce the meaning or intention of the author / creator.

2. Moderate Hermeneutics: Developed by theorists as Gadamer and Ricoeur with argument that no method can guarantee an absolute objective interpretation as the receiver end is always equipped with prejudices of historical existence which are embedded in an individual's language, time, and place rather beyond that. Therefore, this concept is a somewhat optimistic view of interpretation as interpretation involves creativity not just reproduction.

3. Radical Hermeneutics: Based on the core ideas of Heidegger, radical approach suggests deconstructing the meaning of a text by replacing it with some metaphysical concepts like unity, identity, meaning or translations.

4. Critical Hermeneutics: This refers to a combination of conservative and radical hermeneutics, which is radical to an extent that its social aims continue a tradition, and on the other hand it is conservative to an extent that it suggests accomplishing an ideology free situation.

Therefore, it can be stated that by virtue of its nomenclature, hermeneutics bears the tendency to be expressed and translated as an attribute of education and hence offers the society a cultural variable. Naimi, (2012) has narrated that Gadamer's philosophical hermeneutics aims to explain the coherence between interpretation, understanding and application. This application encircles many attributes of society including education. An elaboration on the preconception of educational experience presented by Gallagher, further establishes the theory to connect it to a more tangible form of theory, which was used by scholars. He argues that educational experiences are both formal and informal but there is no form of education, which is without interpretation. The student assimilates the pedagogical presentation to his own comprehension or allows his comprehension to accommodate itself to presentation, and this process is same for teacher as well. However, he has excluded the concept of hidden curriculum from this theory that may involve another dimension. This conceptual development is also relevant to the process of architectural education wherein the modes of dissemination of knowledge include theoretical understandings as well as applications to the society, both in hidden and apparent forms of curriculum.

Therefore, Gallagher's thoughts conclude that interpretation is a universal feature of all human activity and can be envisioned to be applied to any segment including education. Moreover, that educational experience is always hermeneutical in nature. Building upon the theory of interpretation (Hermeneutics), Hans-Robert Jauss, a German scholar and academician (1960) developed the theory of reception. Based on the broader sense of radical approach, he suggested hermeneutics to be developed and utilized as a discipline, which includes written, verbal and non-verbal forms of communications. One of Jauss's significant writings; Literary History as a Challenge to Literary Theory (1960-1970), explains the origin of reception theory. He highlighted the neglected factor of reception in the explanation and application of philosophical hermeneutics. He has argued that the reception of literary works in all its forms is unthinkable without the active participation of addressees. While Heideggar's phenomenology suggested interpreter's, historical placement creating certain expectations comprising anticipatory understanding, Gadamer translates the same characteristic of tradition into a means of actualization of a particular lived experience. Following this ideology, Jauss suggests addressing the raised concern in a reciprocal manner which argues that how the reception of a work influences society and vice versa. Here the historical placement for the actualization of learned behaviours holds a pivotal standing and suggests architectural education to be positioned in a setting wherein the historical background of learning provides the basis for the translations of behaviours and cultures.

This concept further helps to strengthen the connection of architectural education and culture. Moreover, Eckert (1984) has also discussed Jauss's idea for the introduction of an alternative for interpretive system by arguing that "if teaching literature, and studying it, is part of a large humanist enterprise, then teachers and students cannot ignore the need for some discussion of historical and aesthetic values which comprise the tradition of a work's reception." He also suggests the curricula especially literature course to be more engaging for discussion of historical conditions of reception. This new linkage and derived form of theory, termed as reception theory has been widely applied to many disciplines of social sciences including architecture.

Julia W. Robinson (1990) has discussed the theory of Architectural reception, describing the basis for developing the relationship between architect and receiver, being culturally aware. She has discussed the emic and etic perspective of cultural relativism by suggesting that the culture must be understandable within a distinct value system called society. These both terms are used in a non-anthropological sense, where emic refers to an insider's perspective and etic as a scientific perspective. The architect in this setting is an actor on both emic and etic sides being a part of the society at the same time but the dis-balance occurs when architectural education tends to offer an oversimplified character of the culture and thus its translation and communication. Since this cultural process is communicated through undefined means, therefore a knowledge gap appears while establishing the conceptual translation of interpretation and communication theories. Robinson also highlights that although cultural processes are predominantly unconscious, but this does not mean that the process should be left unaddressed or does not require conscious probes. This concept suggested culturally critical architectural education, with radical attributes from master-apprentice pattern, and explicit knowledge-based learning. This is further underpinned by the fact that contemporary curriculum-based model has the deeper capacity to understand and imply the cultural values in both adopted methods of theory and practical as offered in various parts of the world. Moreover, it is also understandable that the implicit content in any educational discipline including architecture has more tendency to grasp cultural considerations than the explicit contents disseminated. The same is valid in architectural design process wherein the cultural content has to be communicated through the designed environment for society. And thus, culturally critical architectural education by virtue of its essence, resonates with implicitly inducted cultural values in a more effective manner.

The derivation of reception theory for architecture takes into account the relationship of architect and the receiver. The receiver being a part of the society with a specific cultural setting should receive well-versed architecture, which is integrated with the embedded culture of the society. Here architectural education becomes the receptor medium to express the notions of culture in a way that provides a medium of expression of what it contains and also satisfies the needs of receiver. Therefore, it is significant for architectural education to take into account the best suitable content and methodologies to express the core of cultural body through its end product for society.

While developing this theory, it is assumed that architects, as professionals ought to receive the core of cultural notions of society through education and personal learning. In current times, it is acceptable for society and the field of architecture that this education has to be communicated through the curriculum based model of architectural education, hence it is also understandable that the cultural capital of the society requires to be integrated within the architectural academics at basic undergraduate level. Therefore, a systematic approach to address this may focus on the overlooked parts of architectural education, which can be helpful to bridge the gap. This systematic approach has to be well considered for the aspect of negating the dominance of historical vs contemporary methodology adopted for architectural education through several aspects. One such aspect, which is identified, is cultural sensitivity, which is an overlooked attribute of architectural education.

At this point, it is identified that there is a need to establish a linkage with basic theory of architectural reception, which is underpinned by hermeneutics. This identifies the gap as a need of a scientific exploration to find out what potential attribute of architectural education is appropriately fit as a mean to establish the linkage between architectural education and culture which is present in any society and architecture receives it with sensitivity. Moreover, the culture is not a stand-alone factor in any society, as it is embedded and developed in societies that collaborate with each other as well. Architectural education, therefore, is a collaborative process of thinking, planning and eventual development of built environment defining a culture. Before exploring the connectivity to the term cultural sensitivity to architectural education, it will be more appropriate to see the term culture itself and its theoretical position in literature which emphasizes its linkage with the architectural education.

5. Culture: Definition And Theories:

The word "culture" originates pre-historically from a Latin word "cultura" that means tilling of the soil. In many modern languages like English, the word is used in an objective sense with various meanings. Culture in its broadest sense is holistic cultivated behaviour; of a person's learned and accumulated experience which is socially transmitted, or more briefly, behaviour through social learning. In its generic sense, culture has been understood as a form of communication in a society. It may differ in different societies or geographical locations.

The term culture has been discussed in a scholarly manner through its anthropological sense, as a complex whole including knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, customs and other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society (Tylor 1871). Another approach to define culture is proposed by Brown (2000) as a way of life including the ideas, customs, skills, arts and tools that characterize a group of people in a period of time. Scholars have also defined culture as a commonality, which distinguishes the members of one group of people from another, may differ for individuals and is communicated from one generation to next, as the outcome of the interaction between the intelligence of man and his environment satisfying both his spiritual and physical needs (Tylor, 1871, Hofstede 1994, Matsumoto 1996).

The definitions of culture have originated several theories about the presence and application of culture in societies. One of the most important, widely discussed and recent theories of culture has been presented by Hofstede in the last few decades, where he defines culture as a collective programming of mind which is acquired during childhood when one is open to learning and assimilation. (Hofstede et al, 2010, 6). The idea is depicted in his model for level of mental programing as shown in Figure-1.

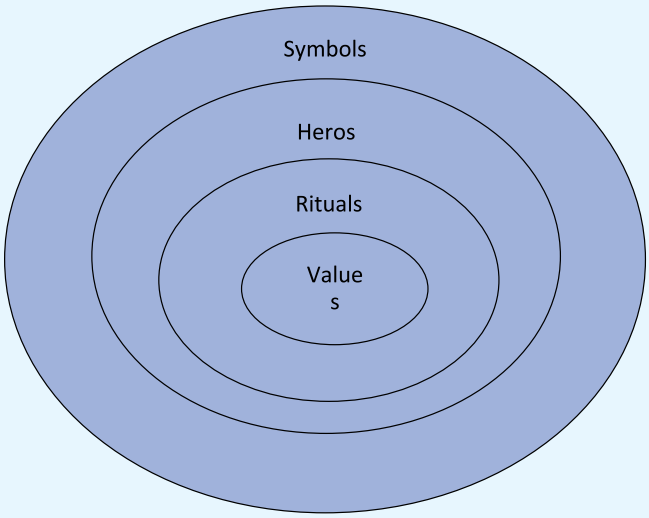

Figure-1: Hofstede's model for levels of mental programming.
Source: Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012) what is culture? A compilation of quotations. Global Pad core concepts.

This collective programming is elaborated in three important levels, which is widely applicable to many aspects of social sciences including architecture. Here culture poses to be learned by a specific group or category called society. This model has also discussed core of culture as values with other manifestations shown in Figure-2, mentioning symbols, heroes, rituals, that can be reflected in practices. It describes that the values constitute relatively constant layer of culture. These values shape the institutions of a country, such as families, education systems, governments and laws. (Hosftede et al. 2010, 23-24)

Amongst different theories discussed, recently, Alfred Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn (1952) compiled 164 definitions of culture in their famous writing, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions, Kroeber has elaborated the attributes of culture as Eidos and Ethos respectively for formal appearance of culture and disposition of culture which determines its main themes and interests. A similar approach was adopted by Kluckhohn who describes that not everything in people's life may be visible to us and add to our knowledge through sensory observations (eyes and ears) called explicit attributes of culture. There are some implicit attributes of culture which are not obvious; motivations and impulses underpinning human action of which humans are not always aware themselves.

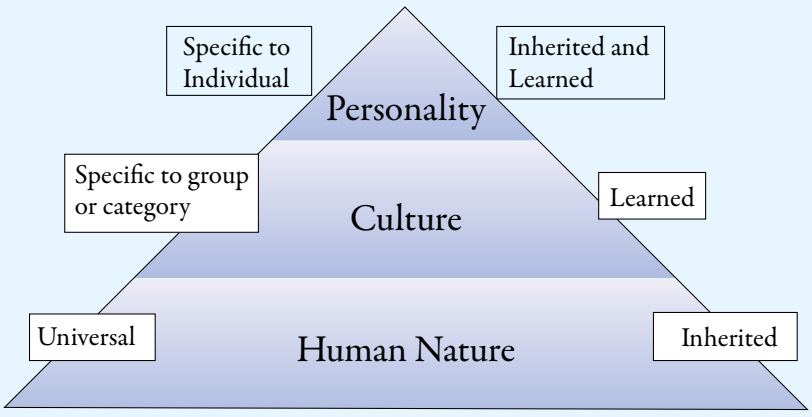

Figure-2: Hofstede's model for manifestations of culture
Source: Spencer-Oatey, H. (2012) what is culture? A compilation of quotations. Global Pad core concepts.

Focusing on the portion of architectural education as a section of education system described in the theory of cultural values of a society, it is important to connate the attributes of culture, which contribute to shape up the education in architecture. There are some implicit attributes of culture which are not obvious; motivations and impulses underpinning human action of which humans are not always aware themselves. Two different forms of culture widely acclaimed, accepted and applied to all societies around the world are tangible and intangible forms of culture. Tangible culture refers to the attributes, which are observed materially in a society, for instance, festivals, habits and built environment. On the contrary, intangible culture refers to the attributes which are not observed materially rather are hidden and embedded in a society, for instance, beliefs, religion, authority, communication style, sense of spirituality, knowledge and education. It is also understandable that intangible culture never disappears. It travels its own way with or without modifications through time, but tangible culture needs to be taken care of (Vandal 2015). United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization UNESCO has been addressing intercultural understanding as one of its major aims through the mode of protecting cultural heritage for both tangible and intangible forms since 1945. It defines tangible and intangible cultures through the idea of cultural heritage. This cultural heritage as described by UNESCO exists in both tangible and intangible forms. (UNESCO 2014). Built environment as an ambassador of all social, cultural, political, environmental factors prevailing in a geographical area and architectural education as a discipline of education both appear to be strong modes of cultural communication in a society. Therefore, culture is a total representative way of life, including implicit and explicit attributes.

4.2: Integration of Culture With Architecture:

The discussion above implies that the culture is a holistic term communicated to and by society, composed of tangible and intangible attributes, having tendency to adapt change with time. This holistic approach for understanding culture and its attributes is derived here to be applied to investigate the status of culture and its application in architectural education.

Culture, therefore, is an entity which is communicated to the society through some mediums and holds some explore able dimensions in architectural education, while it is applied to a society. Communication is an important dimension of culture, with all its attributes and having tendency to grasp from a particular historical, social, political, religious, ethnical and several other attributes. One of the several means of communication is architectural education through which it disseminates culture in society. Hence, communication means, and methods hold a significant role in this scenario. Some of the significant communication theories are potentially relevant to the concept of architectural communication.

4.3: Linkage Through Communication Theories:

The theories of communication discuss many related factors according to the context and era of which they are developed in and applied to. Historically Aristotle[1] (384-322 B.C) introduced a linear model of communication, shown in Figure-3, which was valid for oral communication, a segment of tangible culture of any society. This model was considered to be the first and most widely accepted model of communication and emerged in 300 B.C. This model had limitations to be translated into various settings because of the fact that it was a speaker centred model, while the role of audience is presented as a passive one, where they can only receive the communication. This makes the communication process only a one-way process, which leaves the model with a gap to explore.

Shannon and Weaver [2] (1948) further explored the communication attributes and presented their work in their famous writing "A Mathematical Theory of Communication". (Figure-4). The model discusses four important factors, Information source, Transmitter, receiver and destination. The model was initially used for technical communication but was later applied for all kinds of communications especially effective communications; a concept widely used in many social sciences disciplines.

[1] Greek philosopher and writer who studied physics, logic, mathematics etc.

[2] Shannon was an American mathematician and Weaver was a scientist. Both developed a theory together known as Shannon Weaver model of communication or "mother of all models".

Exploring further on the basis of Shannon weaver's model of communication, Berlos (1960) developed a Sender-Message-Channel-Receiver (SMCR) model of communication, which discusses the factors, which affect the communication and its components. Figure-5 shows the model which also discusses the role of encoding and decoding; the processes which take place before the sender sends the message and before the receiver receives the message. It has four components, which describe the communication process. These are; sender, message, channel and receiver. Each component is also affected by several factors mentioned in the model.

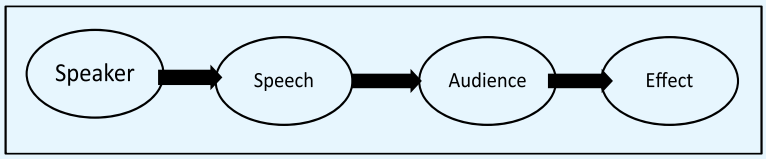

Figure- 3 Aristotle's model of communication. (300 B.C).
Source: Dynamics of mass communication, by Joseph R. Dominik, 6th edition, 1999, Mc Graw Hill

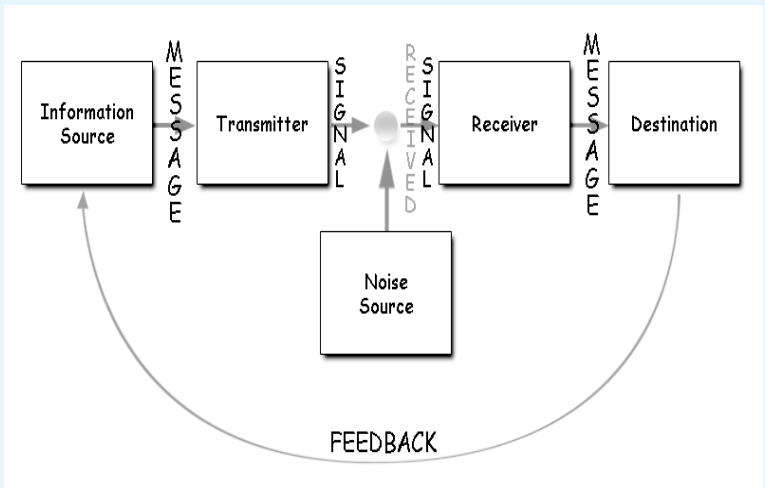

Figure-4 Shannon Weaver Model of communication
Source: Dynamics of mass communication, by Joseph R. Dominik, 6th edition, 1999, Mc Graw Hill

Berlos's model of communication discusses culture in two very important places. Firstly, in the section of source, describing culture as one of element of source section, and secondly, as an element of receiver section. Placement of culture in both sections, through the process of communication indicates that culture is transmitted and received from the source with a certain message, through a channel. This model is widely applied to many disciplines of social sciences.

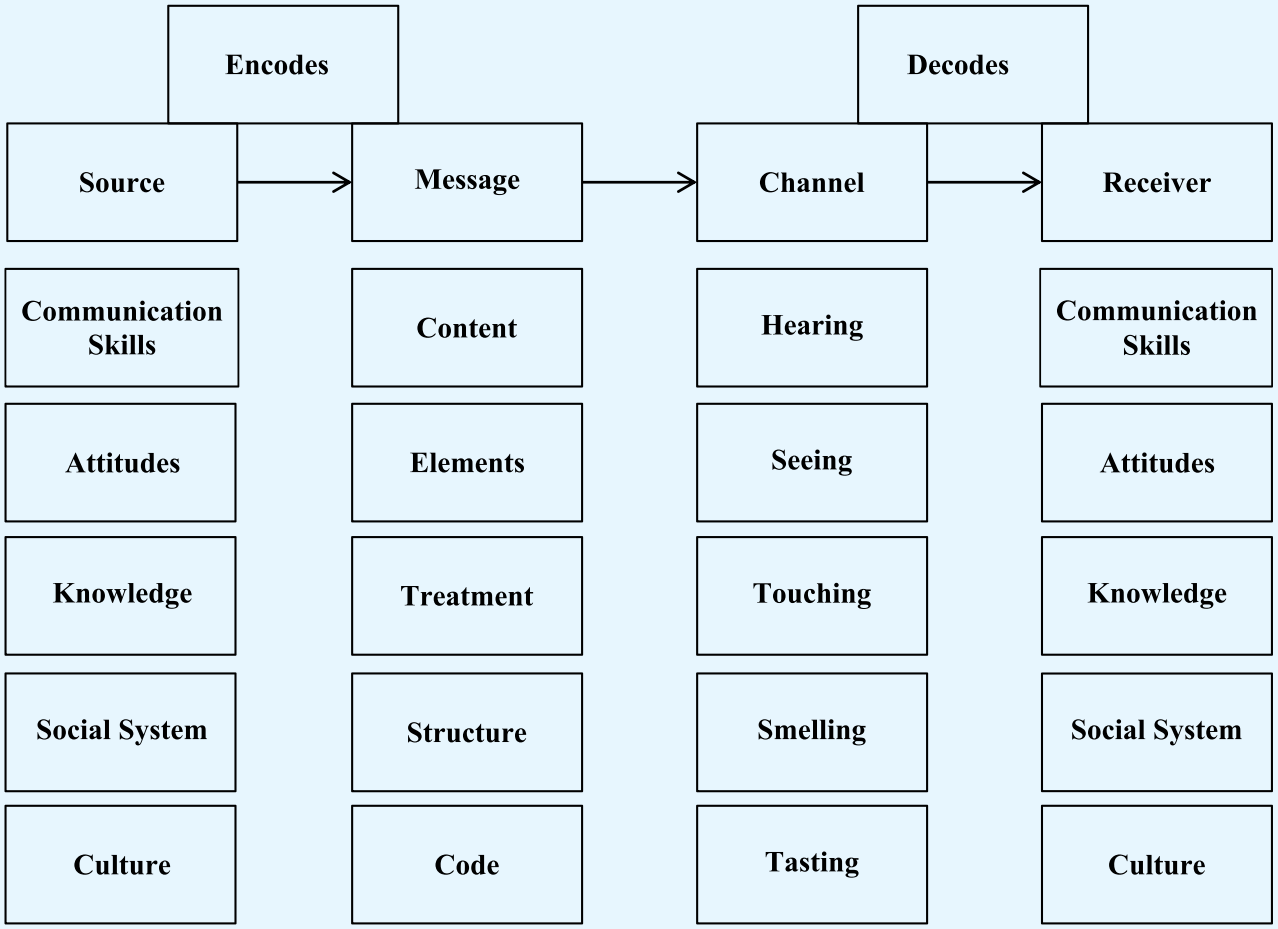

Figure-5: Berlos's SMCR model of communication.
Source: Dynamics of mass communication, by Joseph R. Dominik, 6th edition, 1999, Mc GrawHill

5: Conceptual Premise: Culture And Models of Communication:

From the literature review, a conceptual premise is drawn, presenting the linear relationships between following entities:

- Tangible and intangible cultures.
- Built environment and Architectural Education.

While culture is segmented in tangible and intangible forms, architectural education and built environment are dealt here as modes of cultural communication. Following major considerations in critical appraisal of literature review were taken into account regarding the composition of architectural education.

- A: Translational patterns of architectural education from apprenticeship to curriculum-based models.
- B: Futuristic concerns in scholarship towards assessing the status of culture in architectural education.

Figure-6 shows the conceptual premise wherein, it is identified through literature review that amongst all the models of teaching in architecture, two are of significant value; apprenticeship and curriculum based. All other methodologies involved in training of architects, which are mostly informal, are considered here as minor since they are derivatives of major models.

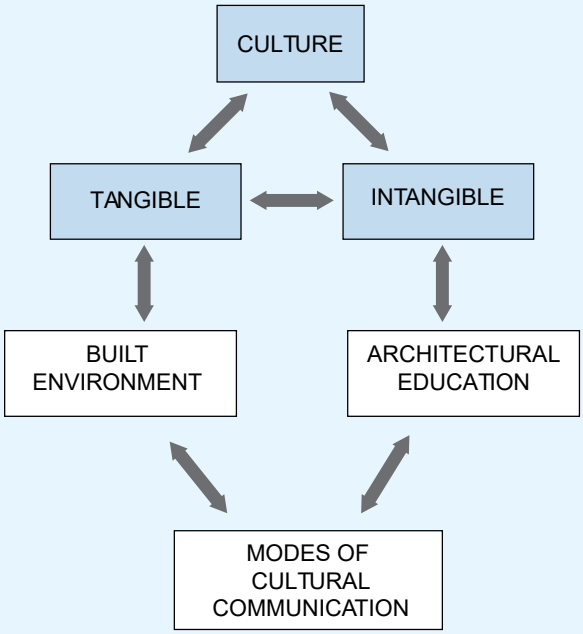

Figure-6: Conceptual Premise of culture
Source: Author

5.1: Cultural Sensitivity And Architectural Education:

The connection and continuity exhibited in communication theories and models depicts their applicability to many areas of social sciences including architectural education as an academic discipline in many societies. Therefore, while analysing the models of communication and their relevance to culture as seen in architectural education, it is important to explore the role of cultural sensitivity, which appears to be a reception link to receive the product of architectural education in any society. The term "Cultural sensitivity" is defined as the awareness of the existence of cultural differences and similarities and their effect on values, learning and behaviour. (Stafford, Bowman, Eking, Hanna & Lopoes-Defede, 1997). This awareness is reflected through tangible and intangible forms of culture in the society. Elaborating it further, a relationship of translation is established on the premise of effects of cultural differences. Wherein the values, learning and behaviour are translated through taught contents in architectural education and are reflected in built environment, which is a tangible form of culture. Therefore, "Culturally Sensitive Architectural Education" is defined here as the architectural education, which regards and responds to the cultural context and relates built environment to culture. It considers related cultural values and variables defining the cultural sensitivity, for example relevance to social, historical, contextual, religious, national, ethnical etc conditions and sources of inspiration in design of the built environment.

The cultural sensitivity as incorporated in architectural education has been addressed by researchers and scholars across the world as well as in Pakistan. Architectural education in Pakistan has been strongly rooted in past of the geographical boundaries where the country is located. There have been strong influences on architectural education of Pakistan which are underpinned by several factors including culture as one of them. The realization of the architectural profession and discrepancy in the form of un-availability of proper school of architecture were the motivating factors for the government when in 1954, the first school for architectural education was founded in Karachi in province of Sindh by Pakistan Public Works Department (PWD) named as "Government School of Architecture". A study conducted in this context reveals that Architectural education leads to an inference that culturally sensitive content is present in the curriculums/ course contents of architectural schools generally spread over all the years of study and specifically during mid-levels of the course where the understanding of the students is well- developed. (Pasha, 2019). Moreover, the study describes the expert opinions about cultural sensitivity appraising that cultural sensitivity is essential to not just architecture education but any type of education. Cultural sensitivity can mean as awareness to the history of architecture or theory, or it is awareness about cultural issues. In curriculum design of contemporary architectural education, it is related to knowledge and awareness, and to comprehension and application.

The critical review of literature also reveals that the scholarship in architectural education has shown its tendency towards the cultural sensitivity. The realization of the required change in the architectural education has opened up many relevant dimensions, where criticism by scholars has broadly surfaced. Scholars have interpreted multiple factors regarding architectural pedagogy in seminal theories. Some of these are referred as below. Robinson (1985) used anthropological approach to study architectural education in which the discipline of architecture was placed within a larger cultural context. It was

suggested that there is a need to define design education "culturally critical" in order to address the present imbalance of perspectives in schools of architecture.

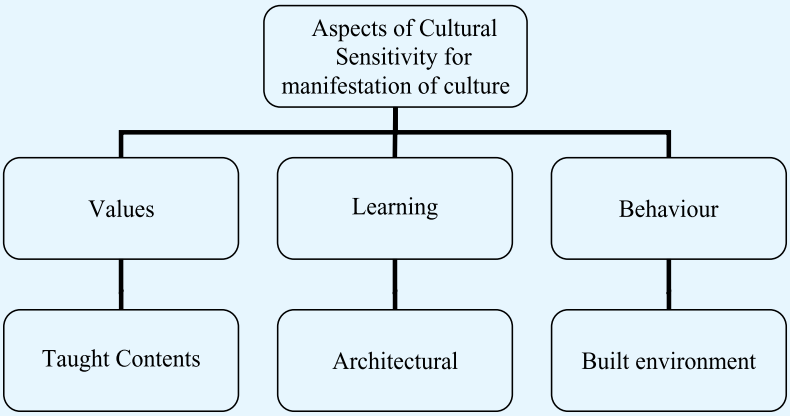

Figure-7: Effects of cultural sensitivity and its translation in architectural education. Source: Author

While describing his views about placement of culture in architectural education Buchanan (2012), an architectural writer and lecturer states the issue as a need of time. He simplifies the core of the idea and relating it to basic allied fields wherein culture plays a pivotal role. He concludes his study by highlighting the urgent need to devise a sustainable, trans-modern (post-postmodern) culture where past and present were grounded in religious or spiritual traditions, making the whole idea as a challenge.

Different paradigms are discussed by Salama (1999), in the domain of architectural education as artistic paradigm and socio-behavioural and cultural paradigms. He has highlighted it by describing that there have been several attempts to invigorate the curricula of architecture to maintain the sense of timelessness by integrating different types of knowledge into architectural teaching practices. He highlights that unfortunately knowledge about cultural diversity has always been ignored or oversimplified. He describes the relationship between architectural knowledge, cultural diversity and architectural pedagogy and proposes a more effective integration of culture, as a form of knowledge, into the teaching practices in architectural education. This relationship in a simplified form is depicted in Plate-8 which shows the interrelationship of three main aspects of cultural sensitivity that can be analysed as manifestations of culture. These are; values, learning and behaviour. Salama has also identified five approaches that act as transformative pedagogy that can bridge the gap between the artistic paradigm and socio-behavioural and cultural paradigms and help effectively in overcoming its underlying obstacles. These include: thinking globally and acting locally, reconciling lectures and studios, sensitizing students in human aspects of architecture, developing students' abilities to search and think critically, and integrating literature on behavioural research into teaching practices. Salam (2014) has also described ging paradigm of architectural education in his recent works. He raises a major point as the dismal state of stagnation and placidity that architecture and design pedagogy find in itself. It develops an argument that while the practice of design professions has changed significantly and continues to change, architectural and urban design education has been slow to react to these changes at best or resists change or adaptation at worst.

In contemporary times the scholarship in architectural education has also experienced debate in multiple factors, culture being one of them. The revised version of UIA / UNESCO Charter in 2014 considers culture as one of the major concerns in architectural education. The charter elaborates the goals and vision for futuristic architectural schools. One of the stated visions describes the cultural concerns as:

"A technological application which respects the people social, cultural and aesthetic needs."

Such seminal considerations for inculcating the social and cultural aspects in architectural education have affected the futuristic approach of required improvements in a manner, which tends to regard culturally sensitivity in a holistic approach.

Table-1 shows the taxonomy of linear relationship between the three discussed entities; architectural education, cultural sensitivity and communication theories. It shows that the basic structures of these terms with their distinct attributes are interrelated to each other in a very linear manner which describes the application of architectural education. It also depicts that architectural education is communicated to the society in the built form through some channel. The structure of architectural education as knowledge, skill and application is linearly related to the awareness of similarities and differences of culture (cultural sensitivity) which are learnt through time and generations and are translated into behaviours by several tangible and intangible forms. These similar structures of architectural education and

cultural sensitivity are continuing to another linear relationship with communication theories through source, message, channel and receiver.

Structures	Architectural Education	Cultural Sensitivity	Communication Theories
	Knowledge	Awareness of similarities and differences in culture	Source
	Skill	Learnings through time / generations	Message
	Application	Translation through tangible and intangible forms	Channel
	Built Environment	Behaviours	Receiver

Table-1: Taxonomy of linear relationship between architectural education, cultural sensitivity and communication theories. Source: Author

6: Findings: Development of Model:

The derivation of Theory of reception into the model of communication by Berlos (1960) has a wide potential to be integrated to the theory of architectural reception, wherein the basis for developing the relationship between architect and receiver, being culturally aware has been described. The theory of architectural reception by Robinson (985) describes the cultural process as communicated through undefined means. The commonalities of ideas in both theories and their wide range of application make these theories applicable to architectural education.

However, application of Berlos's model to architectural education process reveals that the factor of "channel" is unidentified. Similarly, in Architectural theory of reception by Robinson it is described as "Undefined means". Therefore, a significant knowledge gap is identified here at this point, which needs to be explored. Considering the relationship of entities of culture and architectural education, this gap (channel or undefined mean) is identified as "cultural sensitivity", which provides a "channel" or "mean" to explore the status of culture in architectural education.

A model describing the relationship between architectural education and cultural sensitivity (AECS) is developed here which takes its basis from theories of architectural reception and model of communication. Figure-8 shows the model which is developed through the exploration in this research and depicts a linkage of architectural education and culture through the means of cultural sensitivity. This connotes with the theories of reception, theory of architectural reception, models of communication and the contemporary deliberations about connection of architectural education and culture.

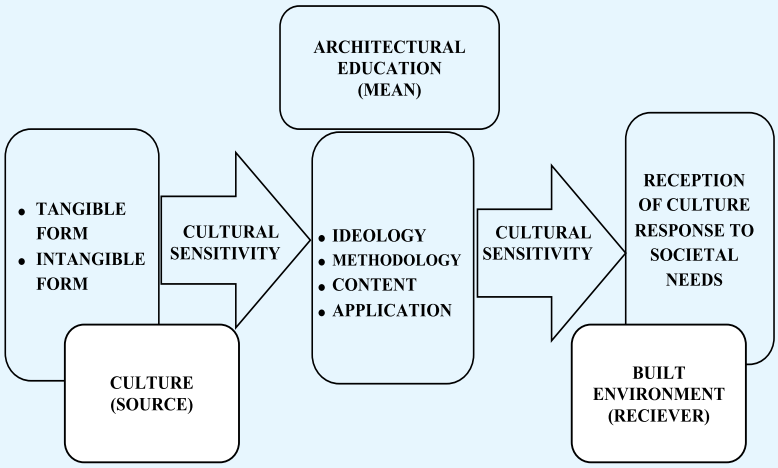

Figure-8: Model of architectural education and cultural sensitivity (AECS). Source: Author.

7: Conclusions:

The research meets the objectives of exploration through literature review and development of a model which establishes a linkage between architectural education and culture through communication theories. It signifies that architectural education in all it social and educational respects has been developed through a long way and communicated to the society through some means. While it has always been connected to society through its application, it has also been embedded with cultural aspects at the same time. Several significant theories of architecture, culture and communication in literature present the discrete discourse applicable to their specific disciplines of social sciences. Any exploration catering all three entities in holistic manner may result in developing a strong linkage between these entities, which can be applied to other disciplines like architectural education.

The research further highlights that in order to connect architectural education to society in an effective manner, there is a need for scientific exploration so as to identify the gaps. The attributes of architecture which are well responding to the societal requirements need to be translated in societies in their appropriate form so as to benefit the society. In this regard, architectural education is an effective mode of communication with the society through its application in several forms.

Moreover, it is also concluded that the philosophical interpretation of theory of Hermeneutics has further facilitated the development and translation of theory of reception and its applicability to the discipline of architectural education as it claimed to be potential for several social science disciplines. This potential attribute of theory of reception is also connoted to the theory of communication when all three entities of architectural education, cultural sensitivity and communication theory tend to exhibit a linear relationship with each other. Through this research cultural sensitivity is identified as a potential and effective attribute of architectural education, which may be further explored for futuristic research in its applied form in architectural education.

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Throchi Fort, Azad Jammu, and Kashmir: Significance, History and Architecture

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Abstract

Jammu and Kashmir have enjoyed the limelight going back to ancient times, it was at one time, the heaven of many civilizations, and the impacts of those are still found in this beautiful place. Every civilization and empire has left some sort of imprint in one way or another on this valley. These traces can be seen in the culture, lifestyle, infrastructure, language, and economy of Kashmir. The evolution of architectural details and techniques can be seen through the various monuments scattered around Kashmir. In Kashmir's architecture, forts have always held a significant value. Throchi Fort in District Kotli of AJ&K is one of the important military forts found in Kashmir's history. This study is an effort to find out the history of Throchi Fort with a focus on detailed documentation of the building to highlight its architectural features. A descriptive, qualitative, and analytical approach has been used for purpose of this study.

Introduction

Location And Construction

Throchi fort is situated in Choroi Tehsil of District Kotli, Azad Jammu, and Kashmir. It is located next to Gulpur, a town in Kotli District, this town is located on the junction of the Kotli-Mirpur and Kotli- Rawalpindi road. Adjoining Gulpur is Throchi a small village and fort in Naoshera province, located about 10 miles south of Kotli city (Bates, 1873, p. 391). Throchi Fort is situated on top of a hill at a strategic location, for that reason, it is known as the crown of District Kotli.

The fort has been built on the left bank of the Poonch River, 13 km south of Kotli, near Gulpur village, by the Mangral Muslims under Nasir-Din Khan (Singh, 1988, p. 287). No further information could be found about the original date of construction of the fort or the life of the builder of this fort, but one thing is claimed by the locals of Throchi village that the name 'Throchi' comes from the name of some prominent Hindu personality.

Throchi is one of the few forts which are difficult to access and are commonly built on a rocky hill summit, because of its position and plan it is fully

Figure 1: Location of Throchi Fort (Google Maps) (Throchi Fort, Gulpur 15th March 2019).

protected against an escalade (Drew, 1875, p. 95). De Bourbel mentions Throchi as a famous castle in Gulpur hamlet (Bourbel, 1897, p. 94).

Viewed from below, it seems to be perfectly situated, controlling both the roads that are within the range of rifle shots. It occupies the crown of the spur, which does not seem to be completely commanded from any side. The fort has naturally scarped sides and rises from the valley in three tiers (Bates, 1873, p. 391) (Fig.2, Pl.1).

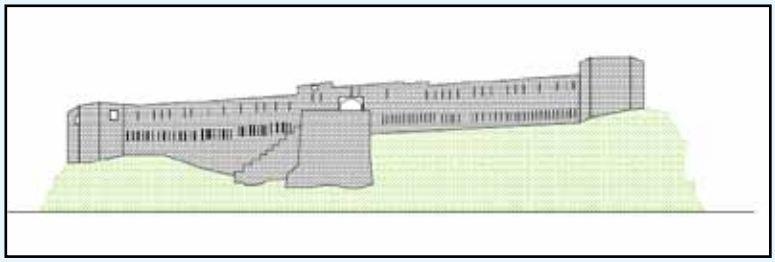

Figure 2: Throchi Fort- front view (drawing by Researcher)

Plate 1: Throchi Fort-view from Throchi village (photo by Researcher)

Throchi fort has always been an important military point, from here it was easy to exercise vigilance and have control over the surrounding areas and roads which included Kotli-Mirpur road, Rawalpindi-Kotli road (which is also an entrance into the Kashmir valley from Punjab), Sehnsa road, Gulpur city and adjacent areas of Kotli city, Nar and Khuiratta., these areas were inhabited by the unruly tribes of Manghrabs, Nasmas, and Chib Rajputs. The fort has its strategic worth since its first occupation by Maharaja Gulab Singh (Palit, 1972, p. 163).

Throchi Under Sikh Rule

Raja Sultan Khan, the ruler of the principality of Bhimber (which extended up to Kotli and a little beyond), employed Gulab Singh on a salary of three rupees per month and put him in charge of Throchi fort (Saraf, 1977, p. 149).

The fort fell to the Sikhs during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. In 1855 it passed into the possession of Maharaja Gulab Singh when he defeated Raja Jawahar Singh. Gulab Singh rebuilt the fort in stone in the 19th century, before that mud bricks were used as a construction material for this fort (Singh, 1988, p. 287).

Control over Throchi Fort changed with the rise and fall of different political powers in the valley. The Treaty of Amritsar and control of Dogras over Kashmir proved to be a turning point for Kashmir as well as Throchi Fort. From 1846 to 1947, the Dogra rule not only brought long-sought security to the state but also saw the scientific survey and documentation of the valley's antiquities, historical, archaeological, and ethnological assets.

Throchi Under Dogra Rule

As documented in 1873, the garrison of the fort consisted of thirty men, and the only water- supply came from the tanks constructed inside the fort. The village of Gulpur in which the fort is located only had twenty houses, situated on the lowermost shelf on the spur (Bates, 1873, p. 391).

After the Army reforms in 1921-23 certain forts held by the Army were brought under reduction, as the methods of warfare had changed the forts gradually lost their value as an important military weapon. (Singh, 1988, p. 167). As a result, the Maharaja set up a committee supervised by Thakur Kartar Singh to decide the fate of the forts keeping in mind their military as well as historical background. The matter, however, lingered on till 1936 when it popped up again and another committee consisting of Brig. Ghansar Singh, Maj. Gen. Janak Singh, and directed again by Thakur Kartar Singh was set up to resolve the issue once for all. After the committee's decision, Throchi fort was to be retained by Jammu Army along with three other forts. (Singh, 1988, p. 167). In 1937 it was garrisoned by a detachment of 8 rank and file of Fort Guards (Singh, 1988, p. 287).

The job of these Fort Guards was the protection of state property like magazines, gunpowder, muzzleloaders, and other equipment kept at Throchi Fort. There was also a signal communication station there operated by two JAK signalers (Palit, 1972, p. 163).

After the decision of accession of Kashmir in Srinagar, on 19th July 1947, the armed struggle started against Dogra rule. In the Kotli area, resistance against Dogra raj started from every corner, led by Col. Sher Ahmad Khan. Dogra forts were attacked in different locations and Muslim soldiers in the Dogra army mutinied and left the force to join the Pakistani fighters (Ahmad, 2003, p. 172).

Role of Throchi Fort During Kashmir's Freedom Fight (1947)

The main offensive in the Mirpur Brigade sector was launched in 1947 on the night of 8/9th October (Singh, 1988, p. 224). Major Nasarullah joined hands with Muslim troops and led them to Throchi Fort. The Throchi Garrison which comprised of Gorkhas was till now unaware of the murders at Juna, therefore, Captain Raghubir Singh and his men received their Muslim colleagues joyfully (Palit, 1972, p. 164). However, on 27/28 October night, Maj. Nasarullah and his Muslim company attacked the sleeping Gorkhas of Throchi and killed every one of them including Captain Raghubir Singh. Thus, Throchi Fort fell into the hands of Muslim freedom fighters (Singh, 1988, p. 236).

During the same time i.e. mid-October 1947, Col. Sher Ahmad Khan led the freedom movement in the area between Kotli and Sudhanoti. Subedar Khadim Hussain Khan, Major Feroz Khan, and Sher Dil Khan fought at Rajouri, Devi Gali, and Baral fronts, respectively. Fight at Fort Aahan (near Kotli, on the bank of Jehlum river) proved to be too much for Dogra Army, so it retreated towards Kotli. Dogra forces at Sehnsa and Punjera faced defeat at the hands of Pakistan fighters. All this chaos forced the Dogra army to seek refuge at Throchi fort, while they still had its control. It was here at Throchi fort that the Dogra army was surrounded from all the sides and forced to surrender in front of a group of native men commanded by Col. Mahmood Mangral. Defeated, the Dogra combatants decided to flee towards Jammu (Ahmad, 2003, p. 172-3).

Figure 3: Throchi Fort- Contours Map (drawing by Researcher)

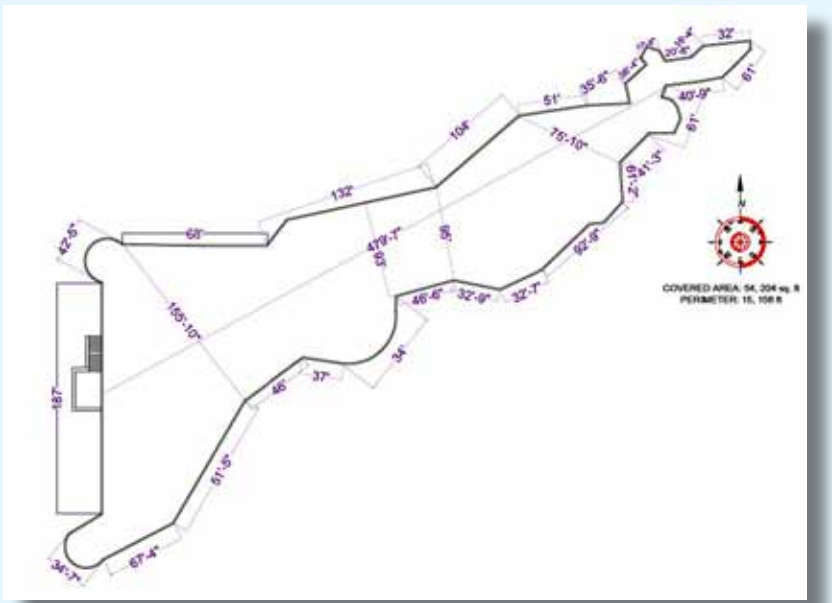

Figure 4: Throchi Fort- dimensions (drawing by Researcher)

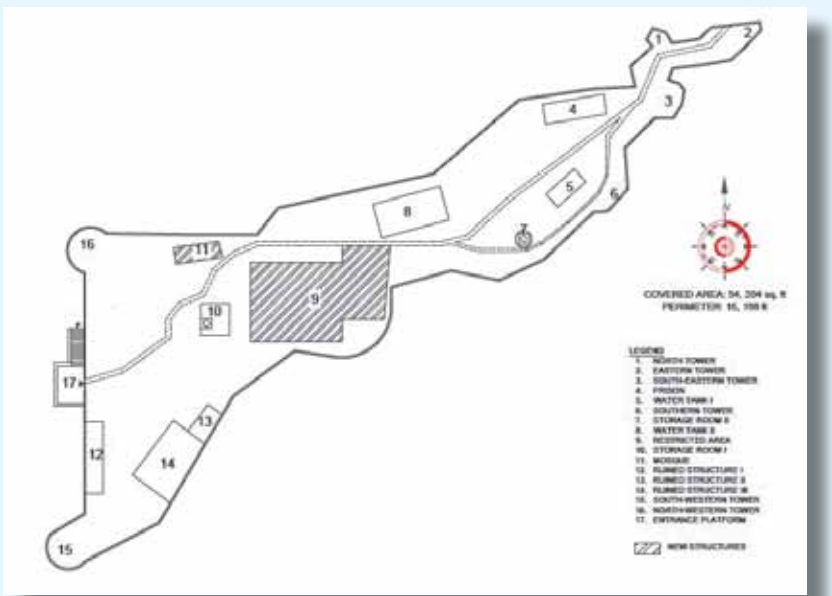

Figure 5: Throchi Fort- Layout (drawing by researcher)

Throchi After Independence

After independence, Throchi Fort went under the control of the Pakistan Army. Currently, it is managed by Pakistan Army and has a control room and signals tower of Special Communication Organization; a telecommunication network operating in Azad Kashmir. It is in a very poor state of preservation and needs immediate attention.

The architecture of Throchi Fort

a) Layout

The fort is situated on top of a hill at a strategic location, from where all the surrounding villages, hills, and fields can be seen. The layout of the fort follows the contours of the hill and has been built according to the natural course of the ground, therefore, the structure is in irregular shape and covers an area of 54,204 sq. ft. (Fig.3-5)

The walls of the fort are crenelated, while the watchtowers built at irregular distances show signs of a double-storied building, connected by limestone stairs. The upper floor with its beams[1] and planks[2] has completely vanished leaving only a few traces that indicate its presence in past.

b) Construction Material

The site is built upon a rock outcropping, using limestone blocks bound together with lime mortar. Whereas, mud bricks have been used for the façade of the fort.

A staircase having twenty-five steps leads up to the only entrance into the fort. These stairs are four feet

1 Relatively long pieces of metal, wood, stone, etc., manufactured or shaped especially for use as rigid members or parts of structures or machines.

2 A long, flat piece of timber, thicker than a board.

wide, have a one-foot high riser and eighteen inches wide tread (Pl. 2-3)

c) Main Entrance

After climbing the flight of stairs, one finds on a platform that has a gateway to the fort on its left side Fig.6). This doorway is now boarded up with an iron gate which is standard six and a half feet high and three and a half feet wide. It is decorated with a pointed arch and niches (Fig.7, Pl.IV).

d) Structures near Entrance

Few structures found on the right side of the main entrance are in worst condition. Nature has taken over these buildings and nothing has been done to keep them from completely collapsing.

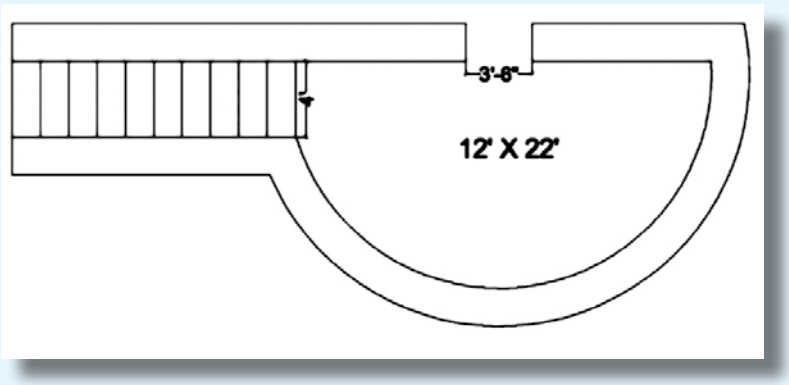

Figure 6: Entrance platform (drawing by Researcher)

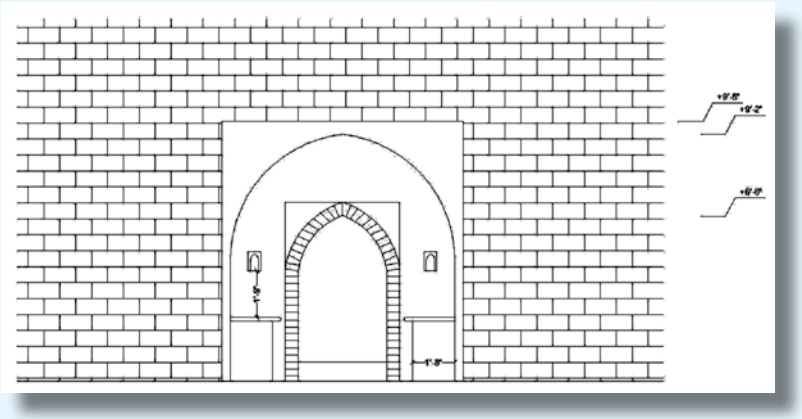

Figure 7: Main Entrance (drawing by Researcher)

Plate II: Western wall and entrance platform (photo by Researcher)

Plate III: Entrance Stairs (photo by Researcher)

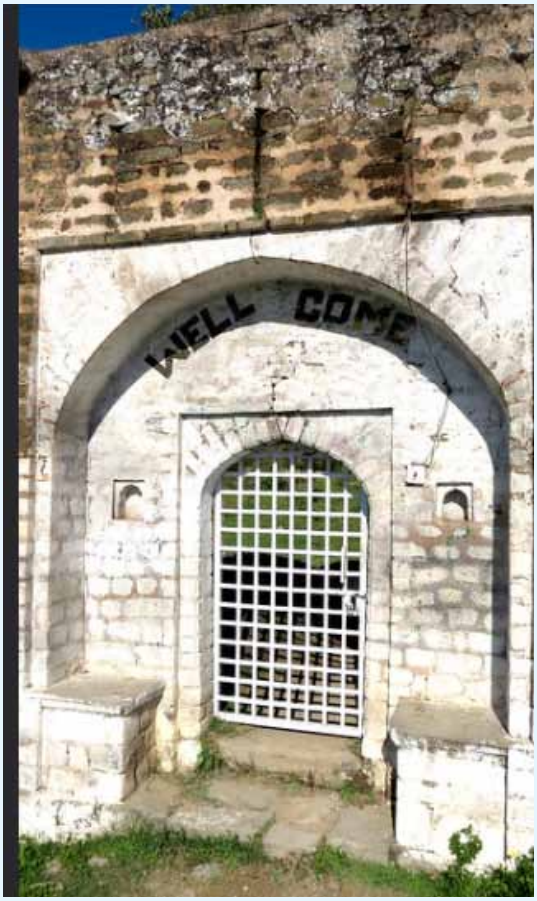

Plate IV: Main Entrance (photo by Researcher)

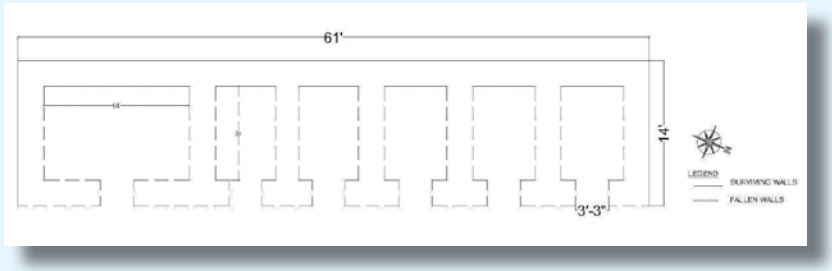

Figure 8: Structure I- layout (drawing by Researcher)

Plate V: Ruins- Structure I (photo by Researcher)

Structure I

Ruins of six rooms can be seen just beside the main entrance, located on the right side, together in a straight row. These rooms together cover an area of 732 sq. ft. All these rooms are east open and have separate entrances of standard width i.e. three feet three inches. Two feet six inches thick walls form this whole structure (Fig.9).

Unfortunately, this whole structure has fallen with only a few standing walls and traces of entrances. Overgrown vegetation is covering it from all the sides in such a way that at first glance it is hard to detect the presence of a building here (Pl. V).

Structure II

Another ruined structure which is thought to be a room is located at the right side of the main entrance along the southern wall of the fort with an entrance towards the north-west. The size of this room is 187.5 sq. ft. and its roof has completely fallen, even the walls are on the verge of collapse (Fig.9, Pl. VI).

Structure III

Adjoining Structure II, the ruins of this building show traces of two adjacent rooms with a verandah in front of them. Four feet wide entrance leads into a twenty-three and a half feet wide verandah (Fig.9).

Each room has a size of 143 sq. ft. Two feet thick wall separates these rooms from each other. Doorways of these rooms open towards the north-western side into the verandah in front of them.

This whole structure, roof, and walls of the room have completely fallen, every sort of overgrown weed and vegetation is covering this building. The main reason for this destruction is the growth of a tree that has torn through the walls and roof of the building (Pl. VII).

Watchtowers

Six watchtowers[3] are found in Throchi fort at irregular intervals. As this fort was built for defensive purposes, these watchtowers cover all the sides of the hill and the common feature in all these towers is the presence of arrowslits[4].

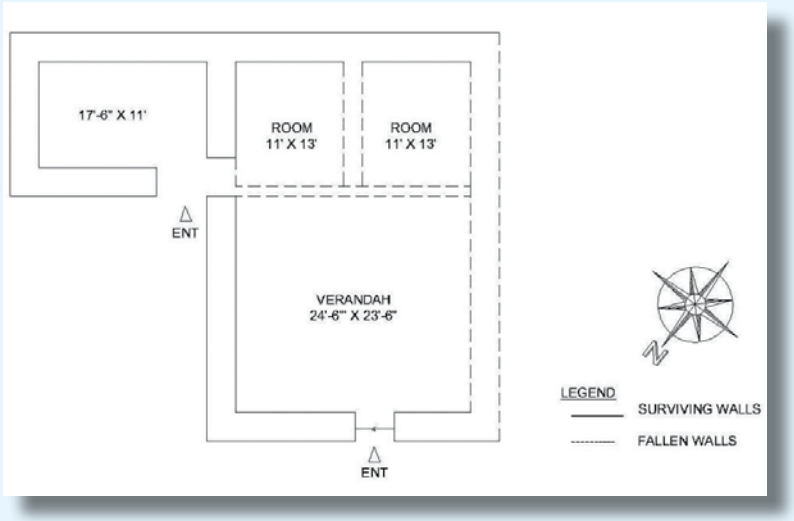

Figure 9: Structures II and III- layout (drawing by Researcher)

Plate VI: Structure II and III (photo by Researcher)

Plate VII: Southern wall and the tree that damaged the structures (photo by Researcher)

3 a tower on which a sentinel (guard/soldier) keeps watch

4 An arrowslit is a narrow vertical aperture in a fortification through which an archer can launch arrows or a crossbowmen can launch bolts

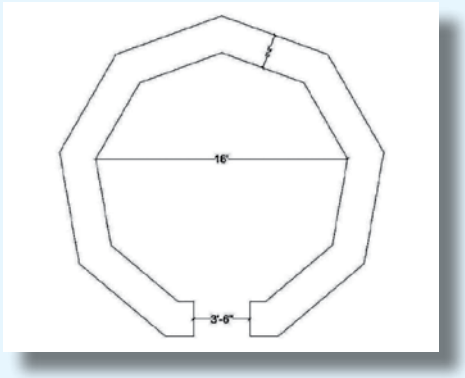

Figure 10: South-western Tower- layout (drawing by Researcher)

Plate VIII: South-eastern Tower (photo by Researcher)

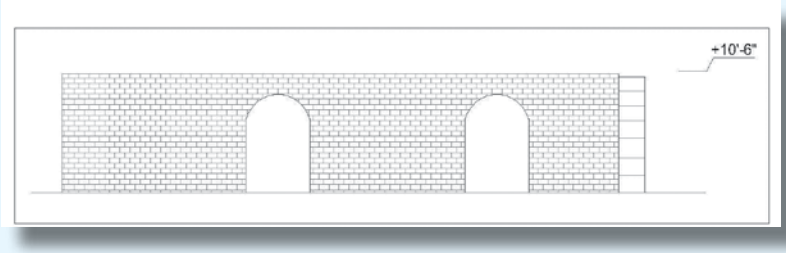

Figure 11: South-eastern Tower- front elevation (drawing by Researcher)

Plate IX: North-western Tower (photo by Researcher)

Plate X: South-western Tower (photo by Researcher)

North-western Tower

Located on the left corner of the entrance wall, this tower is now in the most pathetic state. It can only be viewed from the outside because as we enter the fort, the area where this tower is situated is so badly covered with tall overgrown vegetation that is physically impossible to reach it (Pl..IX).

South-western Tower

Situated on the right corner of the entrance wall, this watchtower is in irregular shape and has a diameter of sixteen feet, and is thirty-two feet wide. The entrance into this tower is three and a half feet wide (Fig. 10, Pl. X).

South-eastern Tower

The layout of this tower forms an irregular semicircle. It has two entrances; both are three feet three inches wide. The inner dimensions of this tower are forty- and the wall opposite the entrance is full of different types of arrow slits.

Stairs leading to the upper story of this tower are situated outside the tower, however, the upper portion of this tower no longer exists. Though we can find traces of beams, planks, and fallen roof. Inner height is assumed to be nine feet and outer (including roof and parapet[5]) way may have been eleven feet. (Fig. 14).

5 Any low protective wall or barrier at the edge of a balcony, roof, bridge, or the like.

Southern Tower

Situated at the corner near Water Tank I, this tower was also once a double-storied structure. Four feet wide entrance leads into this tower which is built on a raised ground as compared to the other towers. The southern wall of this tower is filled with arrowslits from top to bottom.

The existing height of the lower portion is deduced to be five feet nine inches and the surviving parapets indicate that this tower may have been ten and a half feet high. A staircase of five steps located on the left side of the entrance led up to the upper portion. However, the upper story of this tower has completely collapsed (Fig.12-13, Pl. XI).

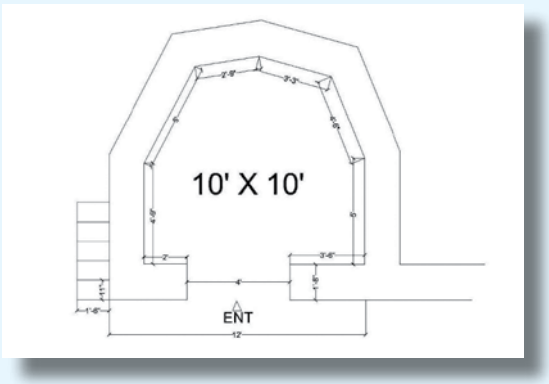

Figure 13: Southern Tower- layout (drawing by Researcher)

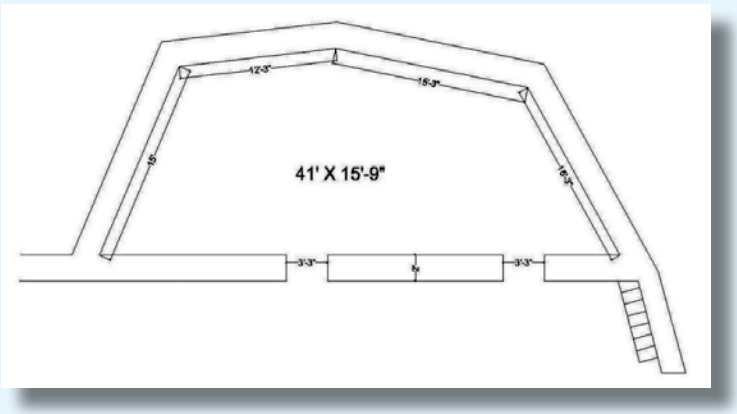

Figure 14: South-eastern Tower- layout (drawing by Researcher)

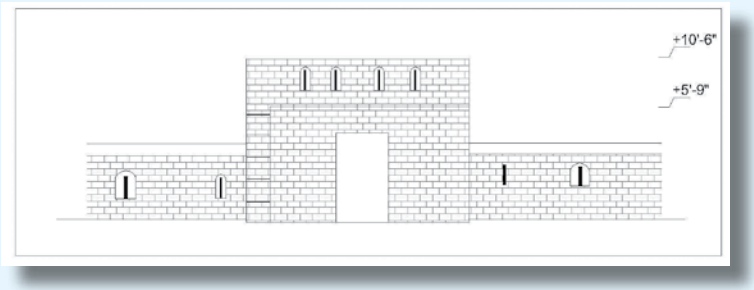

Figure 12: Southern Tower- front elevation (drawing by the researcher)

Plate XI: Southern Tower (photo by Researcher)

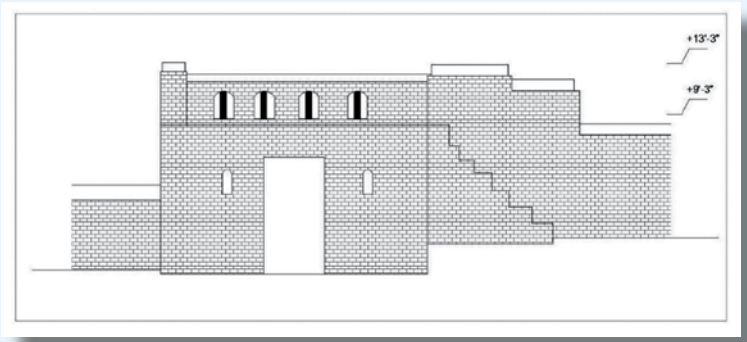

Figure 15: North Tower- front elevation (drawing by Researcher)

Northern Tower

A double-storied structure whose upper story and roof no longer exist. Three feet three inches wide entrance leads into this tower, which is in the irregular shape of seven sides, all of which are covered from top to bottom with arrowslits (Fig.14-15, Pl.12).

One and a half feet wide staircase of six steps is found on the right side of the tower, which is connected to the upper story of this tower. Only traces of the upper portion and ceiling are found, however, four feet high parapet having several arrowslits is still standing.

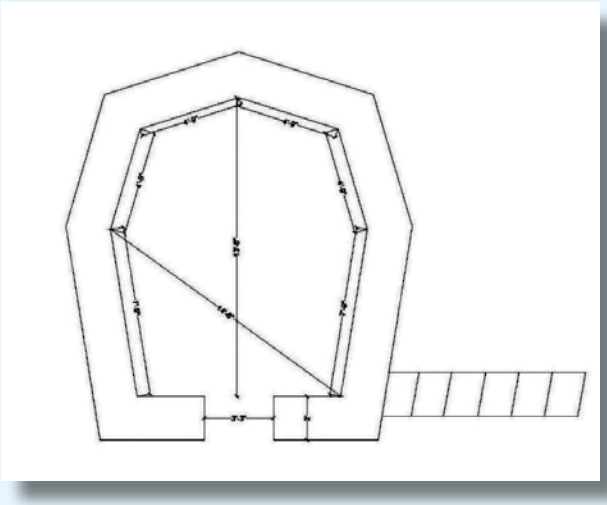

Figure 16: North Tower- layout (drawing by Researcher)

Eastern Tower

The only surviving tower is located at the eastern end of the fort, it is fourteen feet three inches tall including the small dome on its top). Unlike the other towers in fort, this is the single-story structure. (Fig.17-18, Pl.XIII).

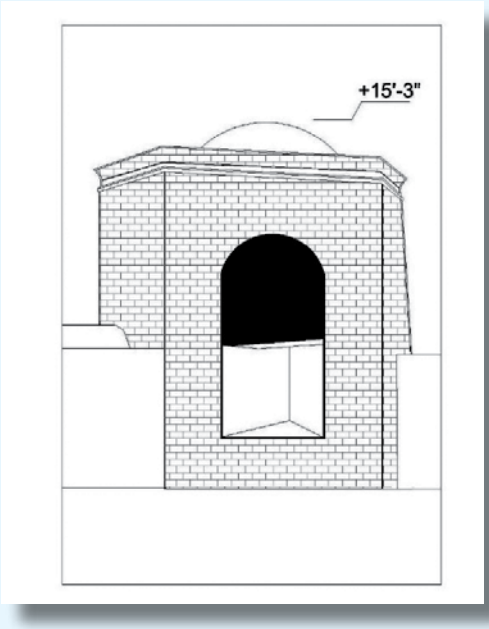

Figure 17: Eastern Tower- front elevation (drawing by Researcher)

Plate XII: North Tower (photo by Researcher)

Plate XIII: Eastern Tower (photo by Researcher)

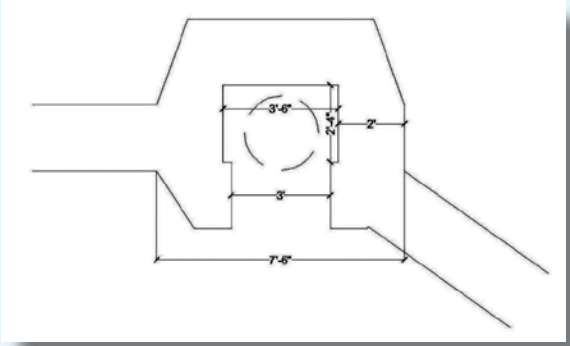

Figure 18: Eastern Tower- layout (drawing by Researcher)

It has small arched entrance and inside of the tower shows vertically partitioned interior. The upper shelf was probably used for sitting and keeping an eye on the area. Other features of the tower include niches on its exterior, windows, and arrow slits in the walls facing the valley below.

Prison

This is the only structure found in the fort that somewhat retains its original condition. Built in a deeper area of the fort, this structure was probably used for keeping war prisoners. Maybe the reason for building this structure in depth was to have an advantage of natural protection against any attack by the enemy. From the exterior, it appears as a single structure, but the layout of this building shows three vaulted cells and they are joined by entrances in the walls between them. The thickness of these walls is three feet and nine inches wide stone is used for this construction (Fig.19-22, Pl. XIV-XVIII).

The main entrance into the structure is through the southern wall of the middle cell (Pl. XVII). The Eastern and western walls of the middle cell have entrances into the adjoining cells (Fig.22). Niches are found in the walls of all three vaults. One in the western wall of the western cell has been converted into a window, which seems to be a recent transformation (Pl. XVI).

Water Tanks

Two water tanks of different sizes are found in Throchi Fort, their purpose was the storage of water for everyday use by the soldiers stationed there. These pits have been dug in proper shape in soft bedrock.

Water Tank I

This tank has a rectangular shape and the covered area is 576 sq. ft. (36x16 ft.). It is fourteen feet deep and its present condition is filthy and the interior of the tank is covered with vegetation and algae (Pl. XIX).

Water Tank II

Larger in size than the other tank found inside the fort. It is varying in depth from all four sides and the covered area is of this tank is 2,040 sq. ft. (60x 34 ft.). It has the same dilapidated condition as any other structure inside the fort (Pl. XX).

Along with these two tanks, a small now dry well is also found inside the fort near the southern wall.

Domed Structures

Two small domed structures are found inside the fort which has many assumptions and myths linked to them. These are small height structures and not very spacious.

Storage Room I

This one is near the entrance is built under a tree, which local people have assumed to be

Plate XIV: Prison (photo by Researcher)

Plate XV: Prison- eastern view (photo by Researcher)

Plate XVI: Prison- western view (photo by Researcher)

Plate XVII: Prison- main entrance (photo by Researcher)

Plate XVIII: Prison- eastern cell (photo by Researcher)

Plate XIX: Water Tank I (photo by Researcher)

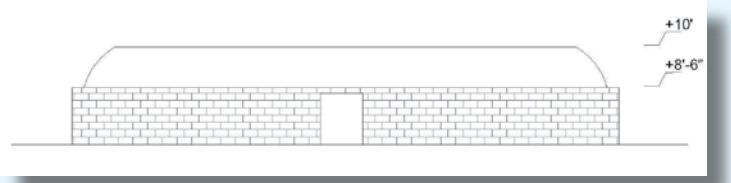

Figure 19: Prison- front elevation (drawing by Researcher)

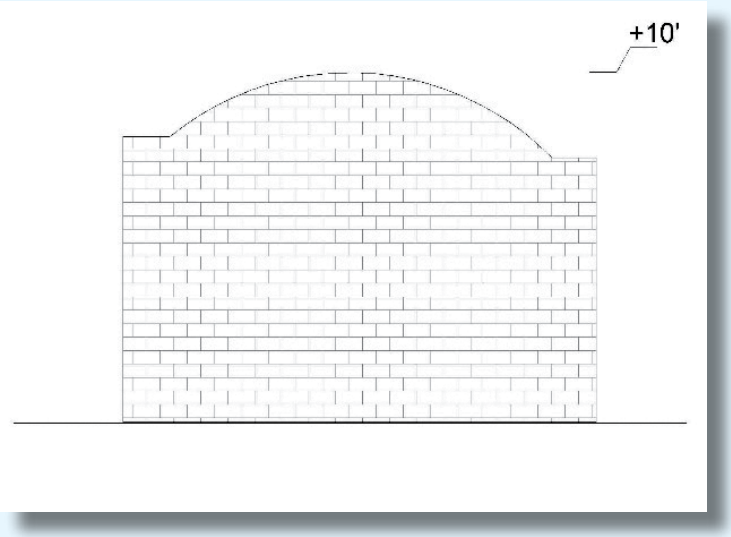

Figure 20: Prison- eastern elevation (drawing by Researcher)

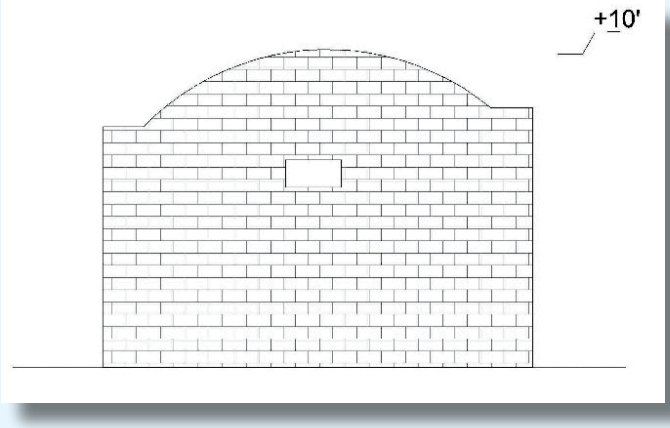

Figure 21: Prison-western elevation (drawing by Researcher)

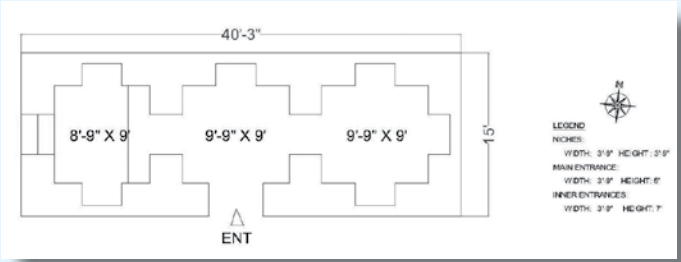

Figure 22: Prison- layout plan (drawing by Researcher)

Plate XX: Water Tank II (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXI: Storage Room I- front view (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXII: Storage Room II- front view (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXIII: Arrow slits in entrance wall (photo by Researcher)

a *chillah gah*[6] of some *fakir*[7]. People have adorned this structure with a green shawl, small lamps, and a wreath of artificial flowers. However, this is only a myth that this place is linked to any pious personality. Such structures had no other purpose than being a small storage room for keeping ammunition.

One foot nine inches wide entrance leads into this three-foot-high erection. It has eighteen inches thick walls and is square. The area covered by this building is 42 sq. ft and has a two feet high dome on its roof (Fig. 23-24, Pl. XXI).

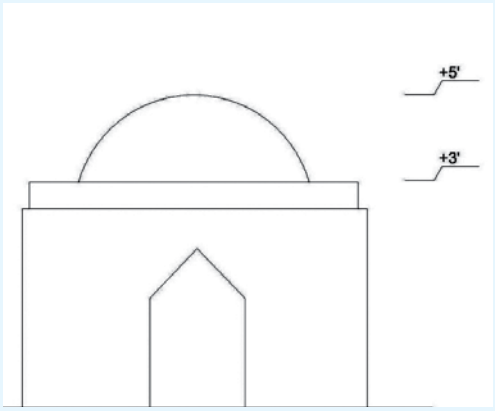

Figure 23: Storage Room I- front elevation (drawing by Researcher)

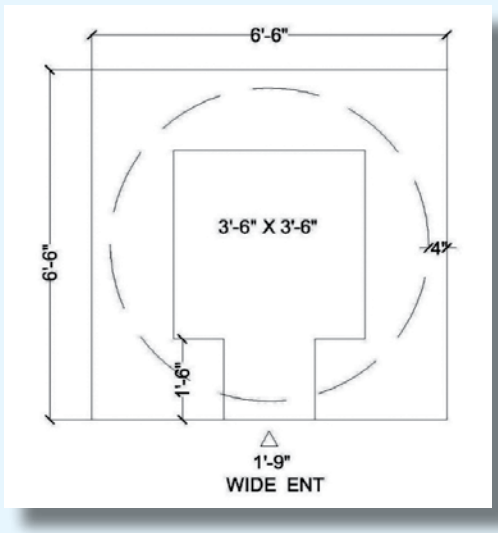

Figure 24: Storage Room I- layout (drawing by Researcher)

6 Place for meditation.

7 A fakir derived from faqr (poverty) is a Sufi Muslim ascetic who has taken vows of poverty and worship, renouncing all relations and possessions.

Storage Room II

It is found when we move further inside the fort, near the water tanks. Built on an octagonal base, it has a small height of only three feet high and covers an area of 56.5 sq. ft. The entrance of this room is facing towards the north and its roof is covered by a small dome that is measured to be two feet high (Fig. 23,25, Pl. XXII).

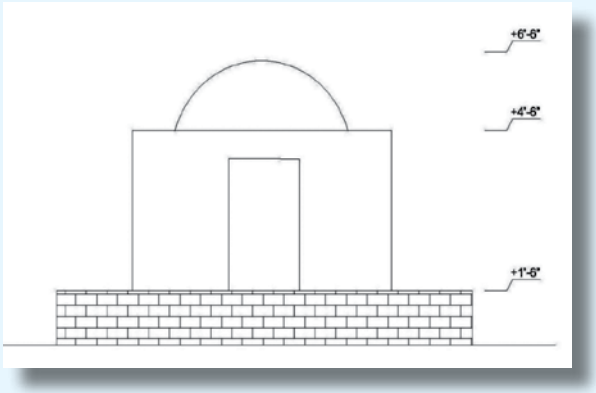

Figure 25 Storage Room II- front elevation (drawing by Rezearcher)

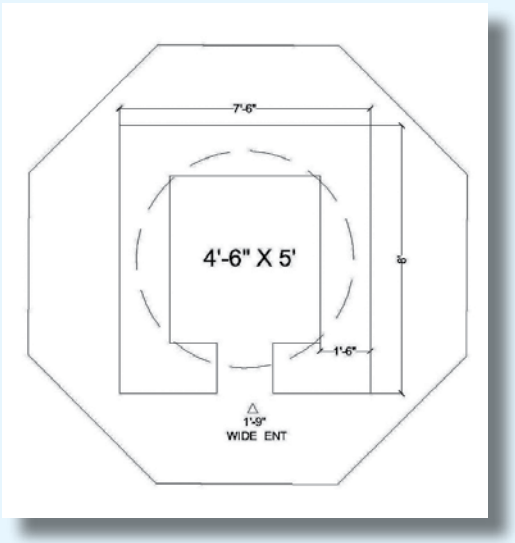

Figure 26: Storage Room II- layout (drawing by Researcher)

Other features

Throchi fort was built for defensive purposes, which is obvious from its architecture, it has all the necessary elements of a military structure.

i) Arrowslits

Arrowslits often also referred to as an arrow loop, loophole and sometimes a balistraria is the most common feature found in all the defensive fortifications.

They were used for bombarding the enemy with arrows while being protected by the walls. The interior walls behind an arrow loop are often cut away at an oblique angle so that the archer has a wide field of view and field of fire. In Throchi Fort, one can find different types of arrowslits that include single arrow slits, double arrow slits, and triple arrow slits (Fig. 27-28, Pl. XXIII-XXIV)

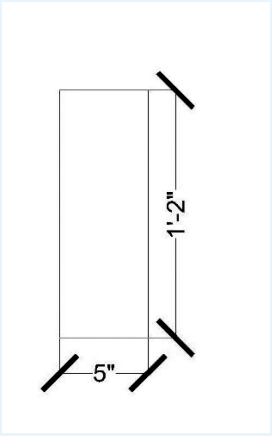

Figure 27: Double arrow slit (drawing by Researcher)

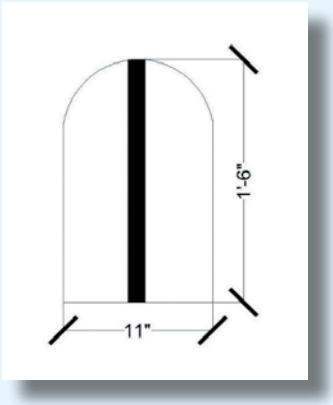

Figure 28: Double arrow slit (drawing by Researcher)

Plate XXIV: Double arrow slit in wall (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXV: Niche in North Tower (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXVI: Niche in wall (photo by Researcher)

Niches

The fort was built during times that did not have any technology, so the concept of electricity was completely alien. They used oil lamps, wax candles, and fire for light when the sun went down.

Niches are another common feature of old forts; hence found in Throchi Fort. They were built in walls and their purpose was being a place where lit lamps and candles were kept (Pl. XXV-XXVI).

Windows

Small windows are found in the boundary wall and the walls of the towers. The purpose of these windows was probably to keep a vigilant eye over the area for the sign of any suspicious activity by the enemy. The purpose of windows at Throchi was no ventilation (Pl. XXVII).

Plate XXVII: Window in boundary wall (photo by Researcher)

Restricted Area

Throchi fort is now under the control of the Pakistan Army. Army has added new structures inside the fort according to their needs, it is in use by their signal corps as a control room for signal transmission. The area covered by these structures is approximately two kanals[8] (Pl.XXX).

8 a unit of area used in parts of northern Pakistan. It is generally considered equivalent to 4500 square feet or one-eighth of an acre.

Other than control rooms, a small mosque is also found near the main entrance, which is also a modern structure added by the army.

Analysis

The architecture of this fort fully depicts its purpose, as it has all the necessary elements of a defensive fort. Fort at the peak of its glory had double-storied watchtowers located at regular intervals that cover all the sides of the crest. The crenelated walls of the fort are full of arrow slits and windows for keeping an eye on the area. Inside the fort, we can find a prison, water tanks, a well, and some rooms, which show us that this fort was fully equipped for being a proper garrison.

The once magnificent fort is now in ruins. The now existing structure is not what it was built originally, the roof and upper story of watchtowers have completely vanished, only traces of planks and beams are found, leaving only single structures without roofs. Though it is still in much better condition than the other forts found in the area maybe because it has not faced vandalism by locals. The present condition of this fort is due to natural disasters, but that can also be dealt with if old structures are preserved and conserved regularly.

The fort is in a bad state due to overgrown vegetation which makes access to some areas of the fort difficult. The major cause of the destruction of this fort is out of control vegetation and trees that have grown through the walls and roofs of the buildings. The existence of some of the structures specifically rooms near the main entrance is now only represented through a few standing walls. The sort of vegetation that is found there ranges from prickly weeds, shrubs, algae on walls to Banyan tree.

Authorities need to pay attention to this fort. Although it is under the control of the army, nothing is being done to keep it from falling into shambles. The factors responsible for its destruction can be easily dealt with, regular mowing and cutting of the weeds and trees prohibits any major harm to the buildings. The fort just needs some love and care!

Plate XXVIII: Natural flight of steps in the fort (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXIX: Eastern view (photo by Researcher)

Plate XXX: Southern view (photo by Researcher)

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Examination of Jaina Paintings of Bazaar Temple, Nagarparkar

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Abstract:

Jaina temples of Tharparkar present a different genre of art and architecture compared with the other temples in Pakistan. Because of the geo-political and socio-religious connections, Jaina community of Tharparkar was a part of wider Rajasthani and Gujarati communities. Such a direct connection is evident from Gujarati inscriptions, Rajasthani Dress and Jewelry of the figures in the paintings and the architectural resemblance with the Jaina temples of Khajuraho etc. To have a deeper insight in the matter, present paper describes and analyses Jaina iconography in the form of beautiful mural paintings of the Bazaar Mandir, Nagarparkar, based on a systematic study carried out by the author under the supervision of Dr Muhammad Hameed, department of Archaeology University of the Punjab.

Keywords: Jaina Art/ Iconography, BazaarMandir, Paintings, Nagarparkar, Heritage of Sindh

Background

Sindh has millennia old history of culture, society and religion, Jainism being a noticeable chapter of it, since its presence in the region can be traced back in the remote past (Lambrick, 1941). Tharparkar was a suitable place in many ways for the Jain sanghas e.g. for practicing ahimsa and brahmacharya. It also provided Jaina merchants with a great opportunity to trade through the ancient port of Parinagar (Ojha, 1966). Though some folklores suggest much earlier Jaina existence in the region, their recorded historical presence comes in limelight in the earlier period of Muslim occupation in the sub-continent with a continuity through Sultanate, Mughal and colonial periods (Flugel & Ahmad, 2018) for that there are references not only in the written sources but also in the material evidence in the form of built heritage. Before the partition of the sub-continent, Jaina population comprised almost 1% of the total population of this region that dramatically almost fell to zero during the chaotic periods of 1940s, 1970s, and finally 1990s. A very few Jaina households are still living in Mithi, Islamkot and Nagarparkar, without any operational centers for religious practices.

Jainas have an ancient tradition of compiling *pattavalis*, or the memoirs of the *sangha* members, that contain their history. They have been doing this for centuries with more interest and details (Roy, 1984), as a religious duty to maintain *Bhandara*, i.e. the treasury of *Tirthas* (Thapar, 2002). One medium of preserving their history and religious

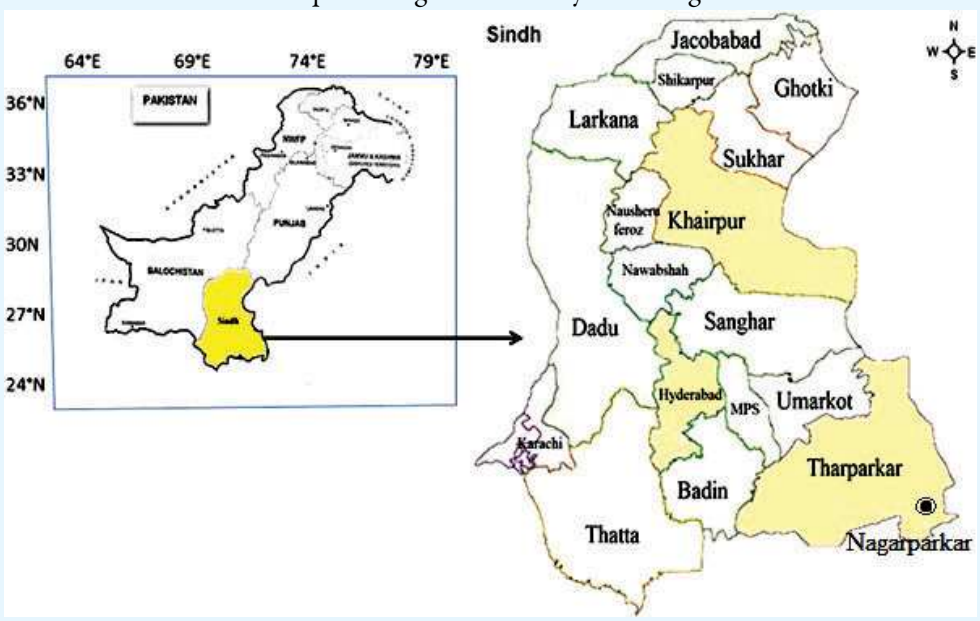


Figure 1 Location of Nagarparkar (Google)

tradition is the depiction of such historical or legendary narrations in the form of mural paintings in their temples. With no doubt *Jaina* Temple of Nagarparkar is the best example of such depictions in Pakistan. Locally known as *Bazaar Mandir*, *Jaina* temple of Nagarparkar is located on the South-West of the Nagarparkar city, at the foot of Karoonjhar Hills (see fig. 2).

History and Importance of Paintings

Art in the form of paintings, as compared to the sculptural art (as defined characters), is much older.

Figure 2 Bazaar Mandir, Aerial View (Google Earth)

The paintings considered to be the earliest are from *Bhimbetka* rock shelters of Madhya Pradesh, dated about 30,000 before present (Klostermaie, 1933). On the other hand, Indus valley civilization seems to be barren in this regard with no paintings at all (Brown, 1959) other than the painted motifs on pottery. After this gap until the Mauryan period there is a continuous tradition of ever evolving painted art, religious and secular in the sub-continent from the paintings of *Ajanta* (2nd century B.C.E.) up till now (Rowland, 1953). *Jaina* art tracks the same timeline and thus advanced the same way with embellishments of several subordinate deities between 800 C.E. to 1200 C.E. and miniature paintings around 1500 C.E. (Bruhn, 2011). The fresco paintings of the *Jaina* Temple of Nagar Parkar contain both of these superfluities that suggest a passé later than the 15th century C.E. for the erection or at least the artistic treatment of the temple.

Artistic treatment of a temple has a significant role in converging the feelings and devotion of the worshipper. Paintings also aid in narrating the religious stories and consequently the visitors and the worshippers become familiar with the lives and aims of *Jinas* and religious mythos (Bhattacharya, 1939). The artists of Tharparkar have adorned most parts of the temple with painted figures of religious leaders and their stories in the form of friezes and stepped landscape paintings (multiple scenes on different parts of a wall) to achieve the above-

Figure 3 Bazaar Mandir Nagar Parkar

mentioned purpose. In the following passages the detailed description and possible identification of the paintings of the temple has been presented with an analytical note and conclusion at the end.

1.0. Paintings in *Gambhara*

Garbhagriha or (in the case of a *Jaina* temple) *Gambhara* i.e. the sanctum is the holiest part of a temple, where a believer is supposed to be at the height of devoutness, calmness, concentration and repudiation of worldly thoughts. To attain it, sanctum is adorned with many sacred and persuasive elements that can be seen in the sanctum of this temple. Apart from the empty niches (that once probably contained the sculptures of the *tirthankara*), ceiling (now covered with the ashes of smoke), floor (with its marble tiles being removed) and the wall above the shelf on the Eastern side that exhibit no painted motifs, all other parts of the *gambhara* have a blue background. Intermediate zone between the stepped-domical roof and side-walls display some marks of painted motifs distorted by a thin layer of smoke.

1.1. Eastern Wall of *Gambhara*

Between the central brackets in the cornice area on the Eastern wall of the *gambhara*, there is an eight-pointed star painted in red in a yellow circle. Such an eight-pointed star appear in the art of different religions to depict life, from birth to death.

The portion of the Eastern wall below the *murtisthana* has been divided into recessed and projected panels. Each panel has been adorned with the paintings of (left to right) a parrot, an elephant, a woman fanning the lower niche in the center that probably is a secondary *murtisthana* (now empty). On the other side of this assemblage (left to right) there is another woman fanning the central niche, an elephant and a lion (head and shoulders are damaged) (see fig.4). All the figures are heading towards the niche. Parrot on the outer side is holding a bud of flower with stem in its beak. Elephants on either side, holding chauri in their trunks, have been painted in motion.

These panels (from top to bottom) have been divided into seven friezes (see fig. 4). The first frieze at the top is a floral band with the flowers of different colors with a blue background. The second frieze from the top display petals of diverse colors. The third frieze contains a geometrical motif in the form of two zigzag spires intertwined with each other. The fourth and the central broader frieze has the assemblage of attendants discussed above. The figures of the attendants have been decorated with flowers to fill in the space in the panels. Fifth band contains a frieze of chess board pattern with a red background. The sixth band is a frieze of botanical motifs in the form of a yellow vine with green leaves and a red background. The last frieze has been left unadorned.

1.2. Northern and Southern Walls of *Gambhara*

The horizontal shelf in the *gambhara* runs on the Northern and Southern walls nearly to their two-thirds. There is an empty niche imitating as arches on both the walls above this shelf. On the spandrels of both of these arches flying female figures with wings

Figure 4 Assembly of Attendants (Eastern Wall of Gambhara)

wearing ornamented gown and pajamas, crown on their heads, and necklace around their neck have been painted. Women on the Western side of both the walls hold musical instrument in their hands. While the other women hold garlands in their hands. Under these figures (on the eastern corner) there are painted figures of *Svetambara* monks in white robes, covering their mouth with *mukhpati,* that is a small piece of cloth they wear to avoid inhale of any *jiva* from the air. The monk on the Southern wall holds a *chauri* in his right hand raised in the air and a lamp in his left hand. The other monk on Northern wall has a *chauri* in his right hand that rests on his shoulder and a bouquet in his left hand (see fig. 5).

Figure 5 Upper Half of the Southern Wall of Gambhara

In the lower portion of both the side-walls there is a square opening in the center. A *Svetambara* monk in white robe, wearing *mukhpati*, has been painted on the side of this opening on either side-walls, seated with their left knee raised, holding a mala in their hand (see fig. 6).

1.3. Western Wall of *Gambhara* (inside *Gambhara*)

On either side of the door frame of the *gambhara* a male attendant has been painted with bare torso and dhoti or lungi as a lower garment (see fig. 7). Their ornaments include armlets and necklaces. *Chauri* is in their right hand that rests on right shoulder and *khamandlu* or the water-pot in their left.

1.4. Western Wall of *Gambhara* (outside)

Overhead the *gambhara's* door frame on the outer side a distinctive and well-preserved assemblage of attendants heading towards a deity has been painted (see fig. 8). Four-handed *Shri Lakshmi* is the central figure, who is riding on her elephant ride (with a *chauri* in its tusk). She is holding minor elephants in her two raised hands, while a golden pot or *khamandlu* in her other left hand and a *mala* in her lower right hand. She is wearing a golden crown ornamented with pearls, earrings, necklaces, *malas*, and bracelets. The label above her reads her name as: *Shri Lakshmi Ji*. On either side of *Lakshmi* two horse riders carrying a *chauri* in their one hand that rests on their shoulders and a golden pot in the other hand have been painted. Gamboling horses of these riders have been portrayed as if they are crushing the enemy who carry sword and shield in their hands. Next to these horse riders there are mythical zoomorphic feminine figures, each on one side, with eagle feet, snail-spire-like thighs, holding *chauri* in the hand that rests on their shoulder and a *khamandlu* in the other hand.

Figure 6 Svetambara Monk (Lower Half Northern Wall Gambhara)

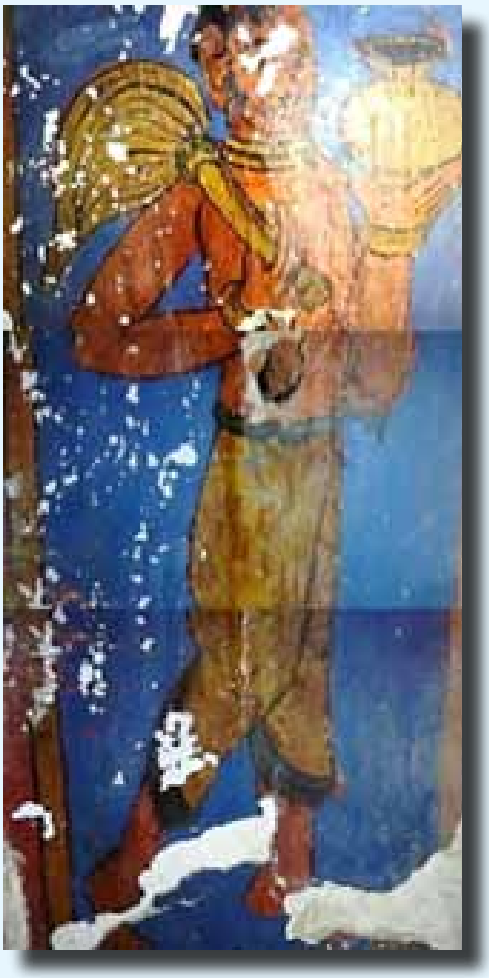


Figure 7 Shravaka (Western Wall)

Figure 8 Lakshmi with attendants and Tirthankara

Figure 9 Door frame of Gambhara

Figure 10 Swastika and Eagle (praggriva) {colors enhanced}

Next to these figures there are painted shrine models of *tirthas* with *Rishabanatha* i.e. the first *tirthankara* on the right side and *Ajitnatha* who is the second *tirthankara* on the left side in seated posture with their respective rides i.e. bull and elephant carved on it (Gupte, 1972). This assemblage has been framed inside an ornamental arch segmented by pillars with twisted shafts. Above the arch a pair of peacocks and on the spandrels a pair of flower roundels have been painted.

On the pilasters of the *gambhara*-doorframe, four seated *tirthankaras* on each side have been painted. on the bases of these pilasters painted sculptures of a *Yaksha* (right) and a *Yakshini* (left) with their elephant rides have been carved. The doorframe has been ornamented with botanical motifs. Above the doorframe there is a painted marble sculpture of a seated *tirthankara* (see fig.9).

2.0. Paintings of *Antrala*

Antrala has been decorated with a number of figures and motifs with an overall blue background. Both the side walls of *antrala*, known as *praggriva*, have identical treatment. In the upper part of the painting, an eagle, flanked by flowers, has been painted. Under the eagle there is a *swastika* painted in yellow (see fig.10). *Swastika* is the sign of the seventh *tirthankara* i.e. *Suparshvanatha* (Bhattacharya, 1939).

In the scene painted below *swastika* a *Sthanakvasi Svetambara* monk in white robe (that seems to be in a yellowish orange tone probably because of the discoloring of the painting) wearing *mukhpati* on his mouth is sitting on a decorated sofa (see fig.11). The monk is holding *shastra* in his left hand while pointing the index figure of his right hand in an addressing pose in front of a seated *shravaka* or a commoner. Other articles that can be seen in the scene are: a *Khamandlu* or the water pot under the sofa, a small table in front of the monk with a *pichi* or the broom on it, a tripod on the table with shastras hanging with it, and a box that probably contains rest of the *shastras*.

Figure 11 Svetambara Monk and Shravaka (antrala)

On the top of the niche on *antrala* wall, *Nakoda Bhairava* (a male guardian deity) riding his elephant ride (Aukland, 2010) with two flanking female attendants (see fig.12) have been painted on high relief sculpture. *Nakoda Bhairava* is revered in western Rajasthan that is adjacent to district Tharparkar. He is more popular in the *Svetambara* Jains than in *Digambara* sect. Presence of its image in Bazaar mandir gives strong evidence about the Rajasthani *Svetambara* affiliation of the temple.

On the lower half of the *antrala* wall a mustached male figure (probably a local *raja*) seated on a low seat has been painted. A multicusped arch frames the seated *raja*. On the spandrels of the multicusped arch celestial winged female figures with *mala* in their hands have been shown. Further below this frame a *chauri* bearer elephant with some botanical motifs around it has been depicted. Overall frame painted on *antrala* wall has colorful margins and floral motifs.

3.0. Paintings of the *Mandapa*

In the vertical cross-section of the *mandapa,* three distinctive parts i.e. dome; cornice and walls can be seen. The walls have been transformed into an arcade of 8 arches around an octagonal plan. Each part of this arcade, dome and cornice has been painted with distinctive scenes and motifs that have been described in the following paragraphs separately.

Figure 12 Nakoda Bhairava with female attendants

3.1. The Dome of *Mandapa*

The *mandapa* dome is made up of layers of dressed stone panels set in the form of progressively narrowing seven circles making seven layers one above the other with the key-disc or the plaque at the top. Each of the circular level was decorated with miniature painted scenes taken from *Jaina* folklore. Most of these are now too fragmentary to comprehend the subject matter depicted in these paintings due to the withering of the painted material. The available in-situ details confirm that all the circular levels had figural depictions in the form of continuous friezes. Each of the friezes is further divided into a number of registers containing a variety of scenes. A few scenes and figures that can be identified are given in the following table.

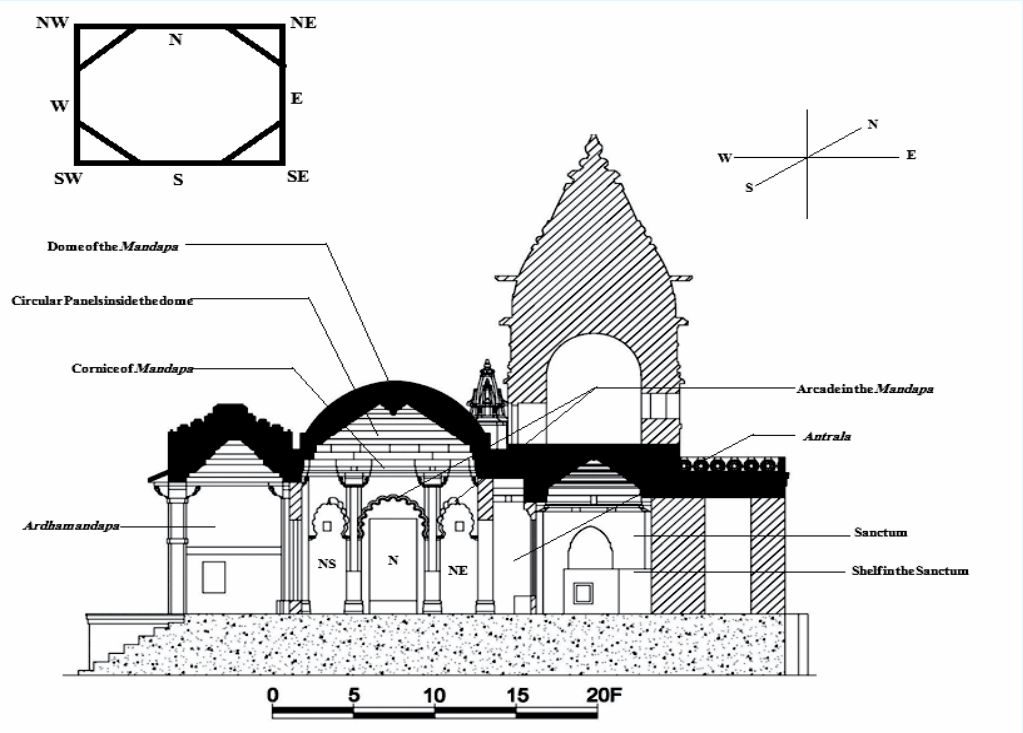
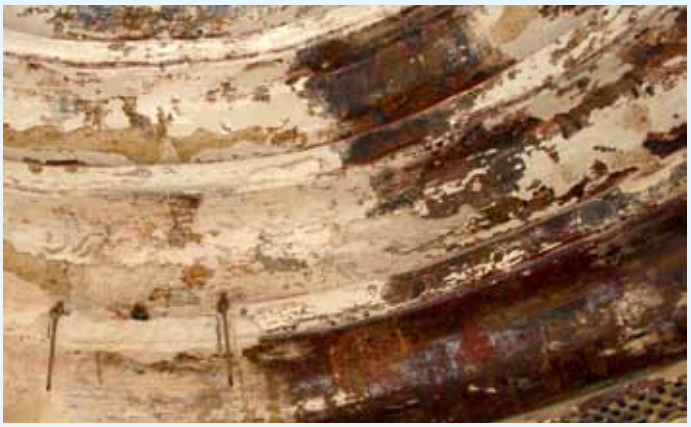


Figure 13 Section of the Temple with the plan of mandapa in the offset (by Ashfaq Jutt)

No.	Painting	Image	Location
1.	Botanical motifs		Sixth layer from outside
2.	A pair of elephants with their tusks twisted together		Forth layer from outside
3.	*Tirthankara* seated on a podium framed in pillars flanked by female devotees		Third layer from outside

No.	Painting	Image	Location
4.	Two seated *Tirthankaras* framed in pillars with twisted shafts		Third layer from outside
5.	Female figures wearing Indian dress and ornaments	Too withered to be seen in the image	Second layer from outside
6.	Heaps of cooking pots, two storey building in Western style, multi-storey buildings with female devotees on different storeys holding devotional good	Image given below	Outer most layer

No.	Painting	Image	Location
7.	Palm trees, horse rider with a servant holding an umbrella followed by women and another raja behind them sitting in a *doli* on a bull cart welcomed by a *dholki* bearer	Image given below (next section of the frieze given above)	the outer most layer
8.	few animals, *tabla* bearer facing a winged female figure with a crown attended by a sitting man followed by a bearded horse rider with a servant fanning him	Image given below	Outer most layer
9.	A few mustached and other beard men with hats, two much diminished winged characters playing guitar.	Image given below	Outer most layer

No.	Painting	Image	Location
10.	A pair of bulls carrying a cart, with a rider, two females in a *doli* , same is repeated behind this carriage and armed men are marching in the end		Outer most layer

Depiction of Tirthankaras, figures of devotees depicted in yatra procession and animal figures augmented with floral and geometric patterns on the inner side of the dome has its parallel in Gauri Temple of Tharparkar with a much better state of preservation (see fig. 14).

Figure 14 Murals on Mandapa Dome of Gauri Temple, Tharparkar

Figure 15 South-Eastern Cornice-Panel

3.2. Wall Cornice of *Mandapa*

Wall cornice of *Mandapa* has been divided into five decorative horizontal bands. There are eight such bands corresponding to the arcade of the *mandapa*. Most of the painted scenes on these panels are too dull and withered to be recognized.

The figure of *Surya* with his seven-headed horse ride (Gupte, 1972) has been painted on the right side of the panel above the eastern wall (see fig.15). There is a mustached horse rider on the left of the same panel wearing a golden headdress. Between these two riders a plant with flowers, has been painted. The lower band has floral motifs on the sides with a projected square at the center in which a painted deer is seated in the crescent. South-Eastern panel bears a scene with a 7-tusked white celestial elephant (see fig.16). A male figure is sitting in the *doli* on the elephant, followed by an attendant wearing a *lungi*. In front of the elephant there is a painted shrine model of a *Nagara*-style *tirtha* with a *tirthankara* seated inside.

Another important representation is in the form of a rectangular water-pond with four projections. An aquatic-bird carrying a fish in its beak, a snake, a peacock, and a rodent have been painted around the pond. At the center of the panel the second *tirthankara Ajitanatha* in sitting position with his ride i.e. an elephant has been painted in a roundel. The pond-scene is repeated on the other side of the roundel. Five men carrying a *raja* in a *doli* have been shown coming towards the *Ajitanatha* for probably a pilgrimage. Below the *tirthankara*-bearing roundel a mustached male face on the projected square with

Figure 16 Surya

Figure 17 Male Figures on Mandapa Pillars

Figure 18 Rajasthani Dress in a Wall Painting Udaipur, Rajasthan

is younger (see fig.17 left and middle). The faces of shafts that face each other have paintings of *Svetambara* monks wearing white shrouds and *mukhpati* standing on a box with a cushion on it (see fig.17 right). On the base of each of these two pillars, a motif similar to the pistil of a flower with a *chakra* within it (instead of an ovule), have been painted (see fig.17 right). On the western face of the square part another *Svetambara* monk has been painted.

On the upper octagonal part there are winged and without wings female figures in traditional *Rajasthani* dress wearing heavy jewelry (see fig. 18) that resembles very much with traditional Rajasthani dress (see fig. 19). *Surya* (the sun-god) in human form has been painted on the capital, with his seven headed horse-ride with the label in *Devanagari* (see fig.20). On the capital of another pillar, a fourhanded mustached male riding a horse has been painted with the label *Soma* i.e. moon god (see fig.21). Comparable characters have been depicted on other pillars too but the details of these paintings are not recognizable.

flanking floral motifs has been painted. Paintings on the other such panels of the cornice area have been withered to a greater extent.

3.3. Pillars of *Mandapa*

Pillars of *mandapa*, with square lower half of the shaft and octagonal upper half of the shaft, support the multicusped arches of the hall. They have been adorned with human figures, and botanical and zoomorphic motifs. The faces of the square part of the shafts towards *antrala* have been painted with the figures of labeled *shravaka* (one on each side) in devotional posture standing on a podium, in off-white long gowns, *loose trousers*, green turbans with white strips and green scarf bound on waist and held in arms. S*hravaka* on the northern pillar is an old man while the other one

Figure 19 Traditional Rajasthani Dress (Wall Painting, Udaipur, Rajasthan)

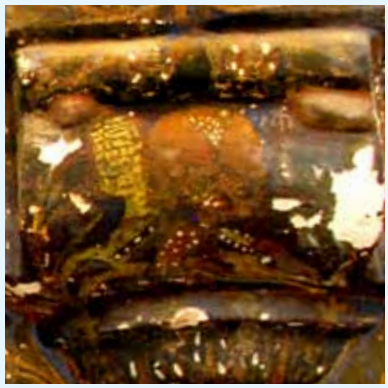


Figure 20 Surya on his horse-ride

Figure 21 Soma on his Horse-ride

3.4. Walls of *Mandapa*

The basic square plan of the *mandapa* has been converted into an octagon with the addition of archways at the corners (see fig.13). Therefore, the description of the paintings in these parts have been given under the heading of their respective archways in the following paragraphs.

3.4.1. Eastern archway

Eastern archway leads to the sanctum through *antrala*. Above the apex of the multicusped arch there is a sculpture of a painted male figure in high-relief playing a musical instrument. On the spandrels, on either side of the male figure, two winged female figures playing musical instruments have been depicted. These women wear crown on their heads, bangles in their arms, earrings, *malas* around their necks and loose trousers (see fig.22). Different floral motifs have been drawn to fill-in the gaps.

Figure 22 Eastern Archway of Mandapa

3.4.2. South-Eastern Archway

South-Eastern archway covers Eastern and Southern walls' joining corners (see fig.23). Eastern corner-wall has been halved by two different scenes painted on it. Upper part of this part of the wall depicts a scene with an elephant, on a high platform with steps on one side, is trying to uproot a tree housing birds, rodents and a bear on its branches with the help of its trunk. A layman is trying to reach a branch of the same tree with his stretched arm, and a deer is standing on the ground. The lower part of this corner bears a beautiful framed portrait of a *Raja* standing on a pillow-podium. He has been painted wearing a turban decorate d with pearls, blue gown with golden borders, armlets, anklets, and a shawl on his shoulders. He is also carrying a staff and a dagger in his hands.

The corner of the Southern-wall in this archway also has two parts with respect to the painted scenes on it. The upper part has a niche in it that forms a shrine model topped by a blue dome and a golden finial. The lower part of this corner has the portrayal of three Nagara-style temples (built on a raised brick-platform) with green domes and golden *sikharas* housing four *tirthankaras*. Below the platform, there are some small mounds with trees, peacocks and other animals, a shrine, commoners (climbing the steps), and a nude *Sadhu* in the center of these mounds. Below these mounds an assemblage of eight people (i.e. from left to right) including two *shravakas* in green and white gowns respectively, a *Svetambara* monk in white robe holding *Kamandalu*, two female devotees in blue frocks and green *dopattas*, a male horse rider followed by two attendants have been painted approaching the shrines probably for offering pilgrimage to the *tirthankaras*. Most of the characters and a few of the other elements in the scenery have labels in *Devanagari*.

South-Eastern arch has been with painted with different decorative motifs including a painted flower in high relief with a winged female figure on either side in the spandrel area. Both are wearing a golden head dress adorned with pearls, and rest of the jewelry and dress same as the other similar figures mentioned above. The left one is holding a pair of *tabla* and the other a sitar in her hands. Spandrel area has botanical motifs.

3.4.3. Southern Archway

Much of the painted part of this archway has been withered. It is too fragmentary to be described in detail. The bits and pieces of the paintings on this area reveal parallels of the painted scenes and figures in them as mentioned above.

3.4.4. South-Western Archway

Winged female figures on the spandrels holding musical instruments in their hands and a few floral motifs are the only painted elements that can hardly

Figure 23 South-Eastern Corner of the Mandapa

Figure 24 pendulum Clock in SW archway

Figure 25 Raja on NW Archway

be recognized in this part of the hall due to the fading of colors. Southern corner has a painted niche in the form of a shrine-model and a procession scene in much withered state below the niche. Western corner wall of this archway has a very unique feature that helps in setting a time period of this temple's construction i.e. a pendulum clock mimicking a clock tower with a dial clock with Roman numerals. The clock is set at 6 O'clock (see fig.24). The lower part of the clock is an actual niche in the wall. Below the niche there is a painted figure of *Raja* in a white gown standing in a devotional posture on a raised podium.

3.4.5. Western Archway

Western archway forms the main entrance to the *mandapa*. No identifiable element survives in this part.

3.4.6. North-Western Archway

Western corner-wall covered by the North-Western archway has a niche with all the elements in the painted area diminished almost completely. There is a portrait of a *Raja,* similar to the one mentioned above, below the niche (see fig.25). On the Northern corner-wall there is a scene painted under the niche (see fig. 26) that appears to be a representation of an urban street with a few multi and other single storey buildings, temples and a nude female taking elms from a monk in yellow cloak, holding a *pichi*, standing a step higher. On the left a circus or some other game scene has been depicted. There is a large frame of bamboo. People are trying to climb it. Drum beaters are beating drums.

3.4.7. Northern Archway

Northern archway frames the side entrance to the *mandapa*. Most of the painted motifs on this archway have been diminished. Tip of the multicusped arch is topped by a painted peacock on high relief. Spandrels have been festooned with botanical motifs. On the left side of the arch, a white seated bull, a golden standing bull and two others, pulling a farm cart with a man standing by the side have been painted in a scene. Very diminished traces of more bulls above the door frame can hardly be seen. Under the right springer a scene of mountains has been painted. Two lions, one on a mountain and the other on the foothills, have also been painted. A rabbit, a few trees and other motifs are also part of this composition.

Figure 26 Scene of an Urban Street

3.4.8. North-Eastern Archway

The corner of the NE archway that overlaps the Eastern wall has been divided into two parts like other corners (see fig.27). The upper quarter has an empty niche at the center surrounded by a scene of *tirtha yatra*. At the top there is a painted figure of a seated *tirthankara* (probably the first *tirthankara Rishabanatha*) on a high platform. There is a *Svetambara* monk climbing the steppes on the side of the mountain. Two bulls (the ride of the first *tirthankara* (Gupte, 1972)) standing below the high platform have turned their faces towards the *tirthankara* seat. Below this layer, two female devotees have been painted in *prarthana* posture. In the same scene another *tirthankara* seated below the niche has been portrayed. Trees, palms, and shrubs have been used to beautify the landscape. The lower larger frame of this corner represents portray of a *Raja* (with his bust damaged altogether) framed in wide floral band. *Raja* stands on a cushion podium, wearing blue gown, armlets, anklets, bracelet, and a green shawl on his shoulders that is also tied around his waist. He is holding a golden scepter in his left hand and a dagger in his right hand (see fig.27 left).

Corner of the Northern wall inside NE archway again, has been divided into two parts. The upper half has an empty niche (forming a shrine model) has been capped by a dome with a finial. Lower part of the actual niche has been flanked by a pair of painted niches. The lower half portrays a very important scene i.e. all the 24 *tirthankaras* seated on podiums that carry their respective ride-signs. They have been arranged in two rows, 12 in each, in a *tirtha* raised on a brick platform with steppes on the left. *Tirtha* has four domes. With their finials *Jaina* flags have been painted. A *Svetambara* monk (on the upper step) and three *shravakas* (on the lower steps) have been painted as if they are trying to approach the *tirtha*. The further lower part bears a beautiful scene of a hilly forest in which animal figures (a rhinoceros, an antelope, a lion, and a few rodents) many botanical elements adorn the sight with a *Sadhu* sitting in the middle (see fig.27 right).

Figure 27 Paintings in the NE Archway

Figure 28 Painting and Gujarati inscription on the Southern wall of Satsangh Hall

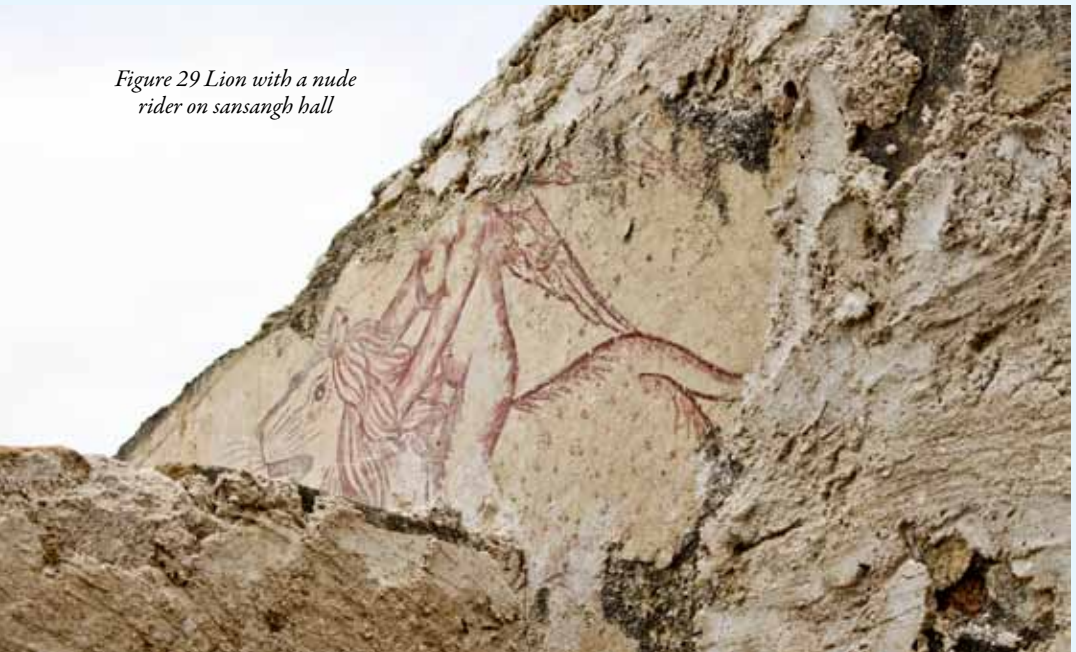


Figure 29 Lion with a nude rider on sansangh hall

4.0. Monochrome Paintings

The outer walls of the temple complex have been bejeweled with the crimson color band having botanical motifs that runs through the length of the walls and some painted figures and friezes. On the wall between the two entrances of the *satsangha* or the community hall (on the Southern side) there is a beautiful painting with three figures and a *Guajarati* inscription in a painted frame (see fig.28) with botanical motifs. The figures include two women wearing traditional dress and heavy ornaments and a zoomorphic animal figure of special interest. The animal has the body of a lion, head of an elephant, and a small elephant at the tip of its tusk. There is a peacock riding on its back, and another four small elephants under each of its feet.

On the Eastern wall of the community hall, a mythological nude winged figure of a female with her head being completely eroded, riding on a lion has been painted (see fig.29).

On the outer side of the front wall of the temple, i.e. the Western wall, a beautiful assembly of a parade scene, with horse and elephant riders and other people walking on foot has been painted in crimson color. Different botanical motifs including potted plants have been painted on intervals.

5.0. Factors Influencing Paintings of Bazaar Mandir

In 1843 Tharparkar region was merged into larger Kutch political agency. Earlier than that in the British period Sindh was a part of Bombay presidency (Pakistan Emergency Analysis, A Profile of District Tharparkar, 2014). Hindus living in Tharparkar have links with the Indian state of Gujarat and Rajasthan. *Parkari* people have been divided through borders on both the sides since the partition. *Parkari* culture still retains distinctiveness of its Eastern neighborhood (Soharvardi, 2012). Adjacent to Nagarparkar, Indian villages of Balasar, Desalpar and towns of Tharrad, Vav etc. Presently have notable *Jaina* population and *tirthas*. Furthermore, Jaina temples of Palitana on *Shatrunjaya* hills, Mount *Girnar* in *Junagarh*, *Mahudi* in *Gandhinagar*, *Shri Mahavira Ji* in *Karauli* and Mount Abu in Sirohi and *Shankheshwar*in *Patan* (Jainism in India, 2016) are the most sacred *Jaina* pilgrimage sites situated in the adjacent states of Tharparkar district i.e. *Gujarat* state of India. Such historical, religious and cultural ties suggest an integral link between the two sides from remote times. Some Hindu Brahmans of Nagarparkar use religious texts and historical accounts of their local community written in *Gujarati*. And as the strongest evidence, the Gujarati inscription on the Southern wall of the community hall (see fig.28) and the marble Gujarati inscription confirm Eastern affiliation without any doubt.

The above arguments provide adequate evidence to believe that the *Jaina* community of Nagarparkar and the artists who produced the exemplary masterpiece in the form of Bazaar temple were influenced by Gujarati and Rajasthani School of art.

6.0. Analysis of the Paintings

Bazaar temple, Nagarparkar has probably been more decorated with the paintings of religious significance than any other temple of Pakistan. Except a few damaged and some intentionally left blank parts, almost every corner of the *vimana* from inside and many parts of *prakara* (i.e. the outer wall) have been beautified with friezes, portrays, complex scenes, images of reverend figures and motifs of different variety.

After setting the issue of regional affiliation the next problem to be solved is of religious and more precisely sectarian affiliation. According to the recent study of the *Jaina* Heritage of Pakistan (carried out by a team of SOAS, UoL and NJC, Pakistan); many *Jaina* merchant families of this region influenced by the teachings of *Jinakuśalasūri* started following *Kharataragaccha* tradition of *Svetambara* sect, which consequently became the leading *Jaina* tradition of Tharparkar (Flugel & Ahmad, 2018). Bazaar Mandir (*Jaina* temple Nagarparkar) seems to be affiliated with the same tradition. Though no documentary evidence recovered so far confirms the fact, the paintings of the temple depicting *sadhus* in white robes at least verify it to be a *Svetambara* temple.

Jains usually dedicate their temples to a deity, most probably to a *tirthankara*. The temple in question has Bulls (ride of first *tirthankara Adinatha* also known as *Rishibhnatha*) Elephants (Ride of the second *tirthankara Ajitanatha*), , *swastika* (symbol of the 7th *tirthankara Suparshvanatha*), moon (symbol of the 8th *tirthankara Chandraprabha*), rhinoceros (ride of the 11th *tirthankara Shreyanasanatha),* deer (ride of 16th *tirthankara Shantinatha),* fish (symbol of 18th *tirthankara Aranatha)* and lion (ride of the 24th *tirthankara Mahavira*) (Bhattacharya, 1939) in painted scenes, elephants and lions being more prominent and frequent.

In the assemblage painted under the sanctum-shelf a combination of painted two elephants, and a lion along with a parrot points to the temple's dedication to *Ajitanatha* and *Mahavira*. On the top of the sanctum's entrance there is another assemblage with the figure of *Lakshmi* seated on her elephant ride and attendants approaching her (see fig.8). All the painted figures also propose the portrayal of the fourteen auspicious visions of *tirthankara's* mother that she dreams before *tirthankara's* birth. The visions include the sight of includes *Shri Lakshmi*, pool of water with fish in it, a bull, a lion, an elephant, a pair of garlands, *Surya*, *Chandra*, fire, flag, lotus pool, celestial ship and a throne (Stevenson, 1915).

Monochrome march scenes with assemblages of elephant and horse riders painted on *prakara* is unique in Tharparkar and other *Jaina* temples of Pakistan as well.

Another question to be resolved is establishing the time

period of the Temple. Though the propagation of *Kharataragaccha* hints to a period somewhere in Mughal period but there is more evidence in the paintings as well. The paintings of a pendulum clock on *mandapa* wall (see fig.24) and armed men painted

in a frieze on *mandapa* dome (see fig. in entry 10 of the table). Pendulum and balance spring clock were invented by Christiaan Huygen in the mid of 17th century (Milham, 1945) and hints that the temple was constructed sometime in or after the 18th century C.E.

7.0. Conclusion

The analysis based on the data available as the painted depictions in the temple in question and the available written sources provide evidence for the fact that the Bazaar Temple, Nagarparkar is a *Svetambara Jaina* temple without a specific-deity affiliation. *Ajitanatha*, *Mahavira*, *Lakshmi* and *Nakoda Bhairava* are the important characters to whom the *Jaina* community of Nagarparkar probably dedicated the temple though they revered all the 24 *tirthankaras* of *Jaina* religion. The temple seems to fall in the category of late-medieval temples built between the 18th – 19th centuries C.E. The *Jaina* community of Nagarparkar was a fraction of greater *Jaina* community of Gujarat state. The patrons, artisans, artists and the *sangha* members related with the temple were more inclined to Guajarati School of art and architecture than that of Punjab or *Gandhara*. Sindh Endowment Fund has been doing significant restoration work of Bazaar temple and other *Jaina* temples of Tharparkar. The need is to carry on such restoration works with greater expertise in the field of religious art of the subcontinent and to spread awareness in the locals to protect national heritage as it belongs to every citizen of Pakistan.

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Arm Jewelry depicted in the Panels of Gandhara Art: Classification, Comparison, Continuation in Modern Cultures

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Abstract

Gandhara Art is the Buddhist sculptural art which originated in Gandhara region in first century BCE and flourished in the region and beyond till sixth century CE. Known for its hybrid character, Gandhara art stands unique from the other ancient arts of South Asia. Naturalistic representation of characters, treatment of costumes in the most realistic style and a large variety of jewelry worn by the characters represented in the art makes it elegant. Male and females used to wear jewelry according to their statuses in the society in the ancient times. Gandhara art presents a lot of jewelry worn by various characters, both male and female. Arm jewelry including armlets, bangles, bracelets and finger-rings are prominent with a variety of interesting designs. The present paper focuses on the arm jewelry depicted in the Gandhara sculptural art. It aims to classify the variety of arm ornaments and also to find their parallels depicted in other ancient arts.it also attempts to trace the continuity of modern arm jewelry of the tribes of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan from the ancient trends prevalent in Gandhara region.

Introduction:

Among the most ancient and artistic creations, jewelry specifies human desire of ornamentation and also indicates that the skill of jewelers in the ancient world was often exceptionally advanced. In prehistoric times dead were often buried with their valuable possessions, mostly jewelry. In the ancient period, ornaments such as amulets were worn to ward off bad luck or for protection. However, it was used for entirely ornamental intention later on. Jewelry verified the influence and the social status of the individual wearing it. In classical Indian literature, jewelry portrayed and feelings of the characters communicating authority, affection, animosity, marriage and widowhood.

In South Asia, the implication of jewelry is far more than merely ornamental. It is a chief component of female outfit, indicative of her social status. Precious and semi-precious stones embedded in the ornaments reveal exceptional strength of the wearer. It is the most expensive and key part of the dowry.

A variety of materials, such as different metals, gems, ivory, bone, glass, shell, etc. were used in the making of various jewelry items since ancient times. Among them, gold enjoyed a special and considered valuable to make religious objects and sculptures and jewelry which displayed wealth and status.

Indians are known as the manufacturers of the most delicate and finest ornaments of jewelry since the earliest times which is verified by the ornaments

Plate 1: Dancing Girl Figurine, retrieved from https://shorturl.at/bvPTY

found from various sites of Indus Valley Civilization. The distinguished craftsmanship of the Indian workmen in the primitive times is confirmed by the discovery of an extensive range of jewelry made from beads of precious and semi-precious stones. The sculptures of male and female terracotta figurines were also bejeweled with earrings, bangles, bracelets and anklets indicating the extensive use of ornaments, both by males and females. The terracotta mother goddess figurines are adorned with plenty of jewelry such as girdles and necklaces.

There are insufficient references of jewelry and personal ornaments in ancient Indian literature. Rig Veda mentions the jewelry worn by Rudra, a Vedic god, as "shining with brilliant gold ornaments" and bejeweled with "an adorable uniform necklace". (Mukharji, 1888, p. 99). The skills of jewelry making in India were stated by Megasthenes and Arrian. Panini refers '*anguliya* (finger-rings), *karnika* (ear-rings), *lalatika* (ornament of the forehead), *graiveyaka* (torque around the neck) and *kumba* (a female ornament for hair decoration)' as the jewelry items in his *Ashtadhyayi*. (Agrawala, 1953, p. 130).

In almost all the ancient sculptural arts of South Asia, females were mostly depicted semi-nude or nude just bedecked with jewelry from head to toe. 'The bare minimum of clothing worn by most figures leaves a large area of the body to be decorated with ornaments ... highlighting the individual's role in society.' (Brijbhusan, 1979, p. 10).

The natives of Gandhara had a great fascination for jewelry attested from the representation of an extensive range of ornaments in Gandhara sculptures. Items of jewelry discovered from Taxila show inspirations from the Greek and Roman models. Taxilan jewelry, including necklaces, pendants, earrings, bracelets, clasps, rings, hairpins and various items, signifies the mixture of Parthian, Greek and Roman influences which thrived in nearly all cultural aspect during the Kushan period. (Brijbhusan, 1979, p. 12) .

Jewelry represented in Gandhara Sculptures not only confirm the Greek, Roman, Persian and Indian influences but also suggest prevailing fashions, likes and dislikes and the evolution of the adornments consumed by the ancient Gandhara citizens. Jewelry items were commonly worn by both male and female although a few were exclusively worn by females. The variety of jewelry unearthed from Taxila is inadequate which is equalized by the copiousness of jewelry presented in Gandhara sculpture. (Harmatta, Puri, & Etemadi, 1999).

Arm Jewelry

Arm jewelry was very common during the ancient times. Loads of arm ornaments were worn by the males and females all over South Asia which is confirmed by the paintings and sculptural arts of the specific region. "Dancing girl" (Plate 1) from Mohenjo-Daro, who wears a series of bangles and armlets nearly covering her left arm and fore arm, few armlets in her right arm too. The steatite King-Priest (Plate 2) is depicted wearing an armlet on his upper arm probably with an amulet. Armlets, bracelets

Plate 2: King Priest, retrieved form http://shorturl.at/iKVZ0

Plate 3: Gold Bangles made of heavy wire with protuberant ends from Sirkap, Taxila, (After Marshall, Reprint 2006, Pl. 195, no. 102, 103).

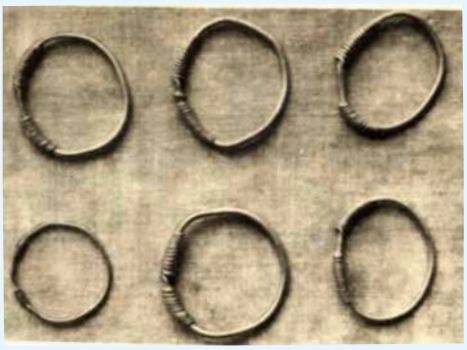

Plate 4: Gold Bangles with spirally twisted ends, from Sirkap, Taxila, (After Marshall, Reprint 2006, Pl. 195 no. 105-115).

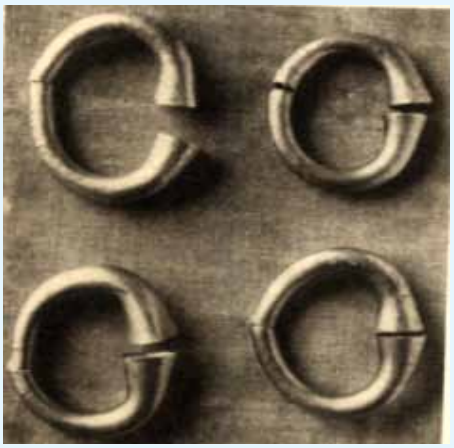

Plate 5: Hollow Bangles with expanded ends from Sirkap, Taxila, (Marshall, Reprint 2006, Pl. 195, no. 116-119).

and bangles made of metals, shells, stoneware, faience and terracotta are among the various ornaments found in abundance from Indus Valley Civilization. Finger-rings made of gold, silver, alabaster, marble and faience were also found. (Pruthi, 2004, pp. 62-63).

Arm jewelry found from Taxila and other centers of Gandhara include armlets, bracelets, bangles and finger-rings (Plates 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 & 8) made of various materials. In Gandhara sculptures, the arm ornaments were usually worn by Bodhisattvas, Hariti, Panchika and males and females of royal status. The study of these sculptures reveals, that the more influential the person the more jewelry he wore. Arm jewelry comprise of armbands, bangles, wristlets or bracelets and finger rings.

1. *Armbands or armlet (angadas)*

An armband is a jewelry affixed on the upper arm by means of a chain or a beaded string. The armbands on the arms of Gandhara females are difficult to notice since they are hidden in the folds of the sleeves of their dress. Those which are noticeable are often plain circles devoid of any decoration. (Tissot, 1985). The arm bands of Bodhisattvas are mainly made of thin plates of circular, square or rectangular shapes or a combination of two shapes, decorated with stones and gems of different shapes. The stones and gems were used to create beautiful floral and geometric motifs. Armbands depicted in Gandhara sculptures can be classified as:

1.1: Plain unornamented armbands

This kind of armlets, devoid of any ornamentation, are very commonly depicted in Gandhara sculptures. It can be noticed as merely a projected ring on the upper arm of the person wearing it. Female deities from Taxila

Plate 6: Armlets with ends terminating in lion heads from Sirkap, Taxila. Photograph by the author.

Plate 7: Open work bracelet with square opening clasp from Sirkap Taxila. Photograph by the author.

Plate 8: Finger-ring from Sirkap, Taxila
Photograph by the author

Plate 9 & 10: Female deities, National Museum Pakistan, Karachi. Photograph by the author.

displayed in National Museum Pakistan, Karachi are depicted wearing armbands, on both their upper arms, composed of two simple unornamented bands. (Plates 9 & 10). Similar armband is worn by Siddhartha in a relief "Siddhartha in Meditation" displayed in the Peshawar Museum. (Plate 11). Four-armed Hariti from Sahri Bahlol, displayed in Peshawar Museum, wears an armband which gives an impression of plain unornamented bangles worn on the upper arm. (Plate 12).

1.2: Beaded armband

A beaded armband can be noticed on the arm of Bodhisattva Siddhartha in a relief "the first meditation" from Sikri Stupa now in the Lahore Museum. His armband is composed of three bands the central one appears beaded while the outer ones are plain and unornamented. (Plate 13, figure 1). A royal female donor appears in a broad armlet on her left arm. Her armlet is composed of nine parallel bands or bangles. The outer flanking bangles or bands on both sides appear beaded while the rest are plain. (Plate 14, figure 2).

Plate 11: Life in the Palace (right), from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

Plate 12: Four armed Hariti from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author

Beaded armbands were in fashion in South Asia even before they were depicted in Gandhara. Their depiction in Bharhut, Amaravati, Nagrjunakonda and Mathura confirms its popularity. Sudarśana Yakshi depicted on Bharhut Pillar relief is wearing a similar beaded armband. (Plate 15). A Yakshi from Mathura in LSM, Lucknow, India, is depicted in armbands resembling those worn by Bodhisattva Siddhartha. (Plate 16).

Plate 13: Panel showing "The First Meditation", (After Lyons & Ingholt, Pl. 36, 1957)

Figure: 1

Figure: 2

Plate 14: Female Royal Donor from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

Plate 15: Sudarśana Yakshi, Bharhut Pillar relief, (After Zimmer, 1983, Pl. 33 c).

Plate 16: Yakshi from Mathura, now in LSM, Lucknow, India, retrieved from http://shorturl.at/vBS26

1.3: Circular bejeweled armband

Bodhisattvas were mostly depicted in elaborate armbands of various shapes and sizes. Circular bejeweled armbands are comparatively simpler than those worn by Bodhisattvas. This type of armband is usually worn by Panchika displayed in the Peshawar Museum. Interestingly, his armband is decorated with a pattern which matches his torque. It appears to be an imitation of an armlet inlaid with precious and semi-precious stones. This armband constitutes of a circular gold plate fastened by a beaded band. (Plate 17, figure 3). Similar circular armband can be noticed on the image of a standing Maitreya now in Lahore Museum. His armband is embedded with the same floral motif which is present in the center of his torque. It is secure with the help of three beaded or pearl strings attached with each other. (Plate18, figure 4).

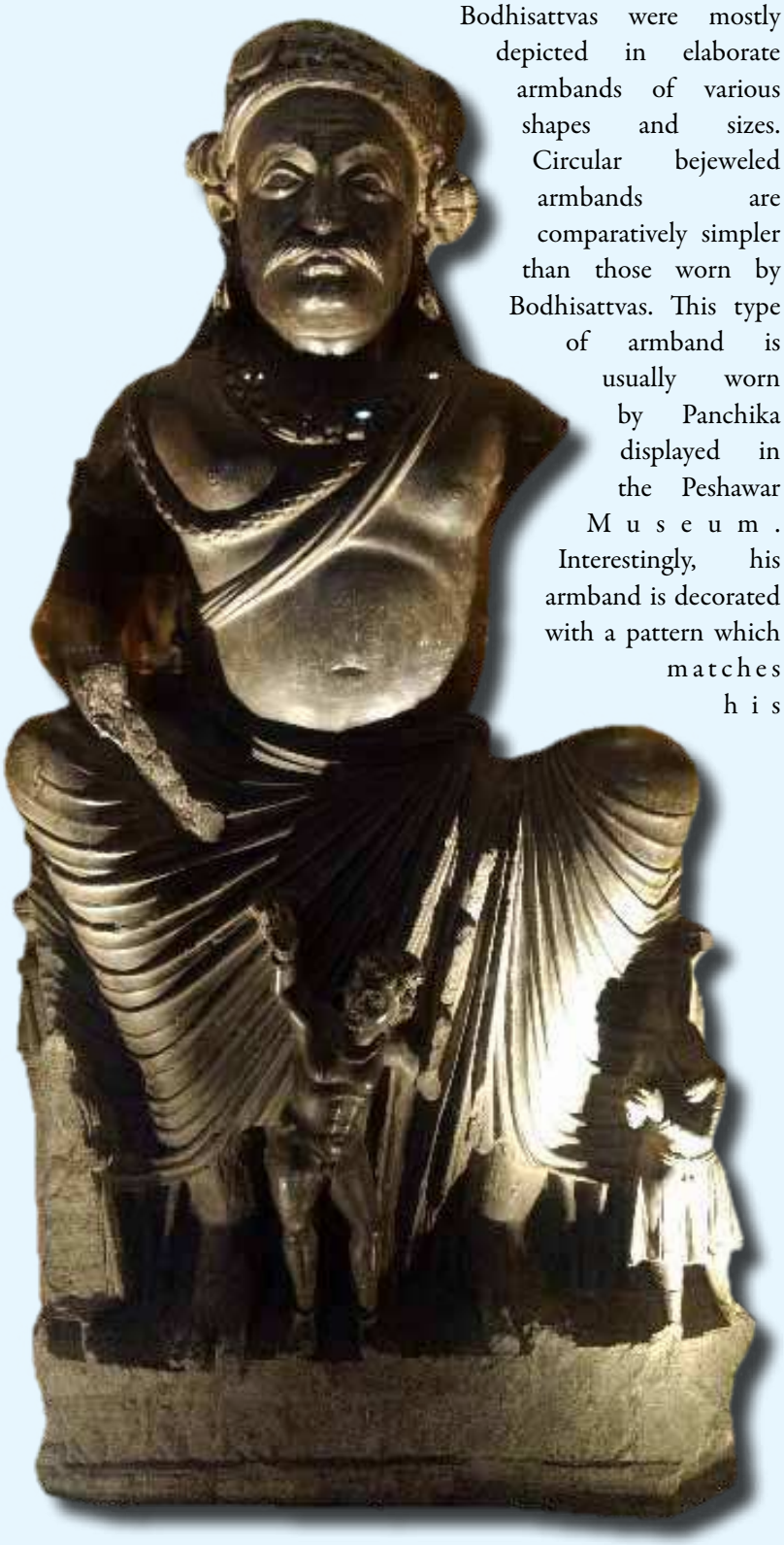

Plate 17: Panchika from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

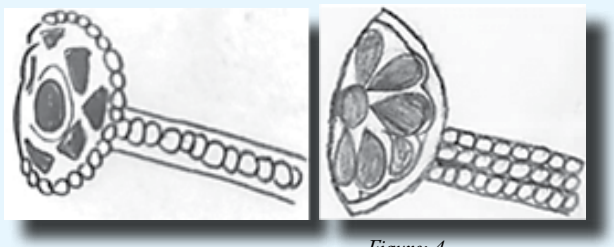

Figure: 3

Figure: 4

Plate 18: Standing Bodhisattava, retrieved from http://shorturl.at/ijoOS

1.4: Four-sided Armband with a circular crest

A simpler of this kind is worn by a standing Bodhisattva from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum. The arm band is decorated with a floral motif encircled in the center which is surrounded by geometrical patterns. (Plate 19, figure 5). A standing bodhisattva now in the Lahore Museum is depicted in an armband which resembles the preceding one. (Plate 20, figure 6). This type of armbands with slight variation in designs can be noticed on a large number of bodhisattva images.

1.5: Two-piece armband with jeweled floral pattern

Few armbands appear delicate and more elaborate such as that which is worn by a seated bodhisattva in *dhyanamudra* from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum. It appears to be made from two pieces a four-sided piece with upper circular one. Floral patterns are created by the arrangement of jewels. The ornament is outlined by beads. (Plate 21, figure 7). The armband on bodhisattva images are

Figure: 5

Figure: 6

Figure: 7

Plate 19: Standing Bodhisattva Maitreya, from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

Plate 20: Standing Bodhisattva, from Lahore Museum Retrieved from http://shorturl.at/jQRV4

Plate 21: Seated Bodhisattva in dhyanamudra, from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

usually visible on the right arms as the left one is covered with *uttariya*. In some cases, the arm bands worn on the left arm can hardly be noticed due to the representation of fine fabric worn by the image. Numerous bodhisattva images are depicted wearing similar armbands with slight modification in designs.Armbands appear in other South Asian arts too. In Bharhut they are simple and less ornamented while those in Mathura are comparatively elaborate but not as ornamented as found on the images of Bodhisattvas. A devata from Bhutesar, Mathura appear in an armband which is thinner from the sides and protruded from the center. (Plate 22). A male *chauri* bearer from Mathura wears relatively decorated armband on his left arm. (Plate 23). Armbands depicted in Ajanta Cave paintings are opulent and highly bejeweled with gems, pearls and chains worn by males and females both.

Armlets or armbands were worn by the males and females since the earliest times all over the world. Their use in Bronze Age is confirmed by the discovery of bronze armlets from Bohemia and Moravia. (Plate 24).

Armlets are worn by the females all over the world in modern times as well. In South Asia this arm jewelry is popular among the females. Known by the name of *baju- band* are often worn by the females of India. They go well with sari and *ghagra-choli*. Rigid armbands as well as those fastened with *dori* or chain are in fashion.

2: Bangles

Bangles are known as *valayas* in ancient Indian literature. Bangles are inflexible and mostly circular is shape. They occupy an important place in the jewelry of South Asian females. It is indicative of their married status and hence considered as sacred. The fashion of wearing bangles is very old. Bangles made of shells, terracotta and various metals have been discovered from excavations all over South Asia.

Plate 22: Devata carrying a bird cage, Bhutesar, Mathura, (After Lee, 1964, Pl. 61 C)

Plate 23: Male figure, from Government Museum Mathura. Retrieved from Pl. 61 C) http://shorturl.at/bmsN3

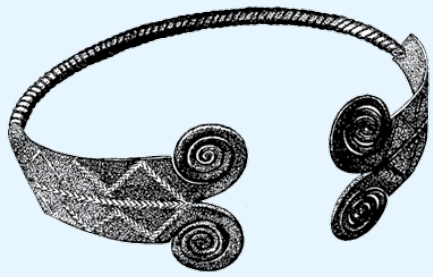

Plate 24: Bronze armlet (1200-900 B.C.E), from Slovak National Museum, Martin, (after Laver, 1964, p. 16, Pl. 4).

Bangles occupy an important position among the various jewelry finds of Taxila. Gold and silver bangles of varied shapes and sizes among which are: solid bangles made of heavy wire with open round protuberant ends (Plate 3), solid bangles with spirally twisted ends (Plate 4) and hollow bangles of thin metal with expanded ends (Plate 5). Copper and bronze bangles dated back to 3rd century B.C.E. to 5th century C.E. have been found mostly in shape of a plain circle made of wire with usually open ends, circle made by twisted wire and thin and flat with projected edges. A large number of glass and shell bangles are also unearthed. Few bangles made of bone or ivory are found from Bhirmound and Sirkap, Taxila.

In Gandhara reliefs, females are depicted wearing numerous bangles on their arms. Two female figures in the panel depicting "Buddha and the female worshippers" are wearing simple round bangles in their arms. (Plate 25). Likewise, majority of females in Gandhara sculptures are depicted wearing bangles without any design or ornamentation.

In the early arts of South Asia, female figures were rarely depicted without bangles. They are depicted in the arts of Sanchi, Bharhut, Amaravati, Nagarjunakonda and Mathura abundantly.

Bangles are considered as an essential jewelry item of the females of South Asia. Those made of precious and ordinary metals;

clay, plastic and glass are in fashion. Bangles with stone inlay work are mostly preferred. Matching glass bangles are popular among girls without them the Muslim festival of *Eid,* all over India, Pakistan and Bangladesh, is considered incomplete. Gold bangles are usually worn by the married females indicating their marital status.

Plate 25: "Buddha with Female Worshippers" from Taxila Museum. Photograph by the Author.

3: Bracelet

Bracelets or *rucaka* are worn on the wrists both by males and females. They are worn all over the word in various materials and designs. The openwork bracelets with square opening clasp decorated with jewels dated back to 1st century C.E are remarkable as compared to the other jewelry discovered from Taxila. Made with a pair of gold sheet with hinged clasps, patterned with a repeat "S" design. The clasp is supplemented with an oval medallion in the center for a precious stone. (Plate 7). They are in various shapes and designs. They appear to be an imitation of Greek models.

In Gandhara sculptures, bracelets of varied sizes and designs are depicted to adorn the images of males and females. A female royal donor is depicted wearing a bracelet with elaborate lotus design. (Plate 14, figure 2). Bodhisattvas also appear with two or three or four bracelets worn in one or both wrists. The bracelets are sometimes beaded or embossed with geometrical of floral patterns. Standing Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, from Sahri Bahlol, displayed in Peshawar Museum, is depicted wearing beaded bracelets in his left wrist. (Plate 26). A seated bodhisattva from Sahri Bahlol, displayed in the Peshawar Museum wears highly decorative bracelets in both wrists. His bracelets appear to be a set of three, out of which the middle one is broader than the flanking two. The broader middle bracelet is decorated with floral and leafy designs while the flanking thinner bracelets give the appearance of diamond cut design. (Plate 21, figure 8). Diamond cut designs in jewelry are all time favorite and used all over the world.

Plate 26: Bodhisattva Avalokitesvara, from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

Figure: 8

Hariti from Yusufzai displayed in the British Museum, London is depicted wearing a jeweled and pearl bracelet. (Plate 27, figure 9). The ornament is exceedingly decorated and compels the observer to acknowledge the skill of artist. The four-armed Hariti from Sahri Bahlol appears wearing two bracelets in each of her four wrists. One of the two is plain and the other is decorated with diamond cut. Besides bracelets numerous bangles can also be noticed in each of her four hands. (Plate 12, figure 10).

Plate 27: Hariti from British Museum. (After Zwalf, 1996, Pl. 3).

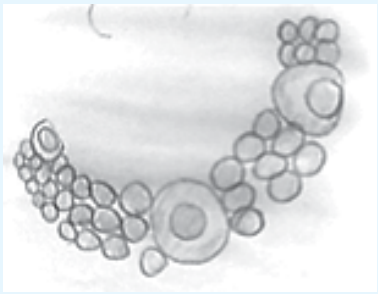

Figure: 9

Figure: 10

Male and female images wearing variety of bracelets were depicted in all the ancient arts of South Asia. Bracelets and bangles constitute essential items of jewelry without which the ornamentation was considered incomplete.

4: Finger Rings/ Vetika/ Angulimudra

Rings were worn since the earliest times by males and females in all the past cultures. In the earliest times, besides its ornamental function, ring was also used as signet to create impression over clay or wax. Ring was sometimes used with a purpose of carrying poison. Despite of the abundance of its reference in ancient literature, its depiction is rather infrequent in the sculptures. They are unnoticeable due to their minuteness in already miniaturized scenes in the reliefs. If depicted, they appear to be simple tube without any ornamentation. (Ayyar, 1987).

The earliest evidence of ring in South Asia can be traced back to the Indus Valley Period. Rings of gold and carnelian have been found among the numerous jewelries finds from the sites of Indus Valley Civilization. A large number of rings have been discovered from Sirkap, Taxila. These rings are of gold, silver, bronze and ivory which are classified in to six types: plain wire rings with coiled ends, ornamental hoops without bezels, hoops with plain flat or raised bezels of the same metal, rings with engraved bezels, rings with plain or engraved stones or paste inset in bezels, rings with inscriptions. (Marshall, 2006). The rings found from Taxila are influenced by the Greek and Roman in designs and techniques. (Marshall, 2006).

Taxilan finger-rings are either of solid gold with oval bezel or are hoop shaped with almond shaped projections. A bronze ring with engraved lion and Kharosthi inscription, found from Sirkap, Taxila, probably served as a seal. (Plate 28). A solid gold ring with beaded pattern and fixed gold ornamentation is remarkable. (Plate 29).

Plate 28: Ring with lion and Kharoshthi engraved, from Sirkap, Taxila. Photograph by the author.

Plate 29: Gold Ring, from Sirkap, Taxila. Photograph by the author.

In Gandhara art it is hard to observe the presence of ring in the reliefs due to compressed details. However, in the individual sculpture's rings are very rarely noticeable. A seated Bodhisattva Maitreya from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum appears wearing a ring in his right hand. (Plate 30, figure 11). A royal female donor from Sahri Bahlol, now in the Peshawar Museum is depicted wearing a coiled ring in thumb while a hoop with a flat bezel in the index ring of her left hand. (Plate 14, figure 2).Rings can be noticed on the fingers of images from other Indian arts too. Kubera Yaksha from Bharhut Stupa pillar relief is wearing a ring in his little finger of right hand. (Plate 31). Devata carrying a bird cage from Bhutesar, Mathura is depicted with a ring in her little finger of left hand. (Plate 22).

A modern armlet (Plate 32), inlaid with colorful stones, worn in the tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa closely resembles to those worn by Bodhisattvas in Gandhara Sculptures. This armlet can also serve as a long necklace and can be worn with a chain or string. Another armlet (Pl. 33), which consists of a square plate engraved with floral designs attached with an inflexible band also reminds us of the armbands of Bodhisattvas. Similarly, modern armlets from various ethnic groups of Afghanistan (Plate 36 & 37) resemble those worn by characters of Gandhara art.

Plate 30: Seated Bodhisattva, from Peshawar Museum. Photograph by the author.

Figure: 11

Plate 31: Kubera Yaksha, from Bharhut Stupa pillar relief. (After Zimmer, 1968, Pl. 34 a).

Plate 32: Modern Armlets from the tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Photograph by author.

Plate 33: Modern Armlets from the tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa, photograph by author.

Plate 36: Modern armlets from Afghanistan, displayed in National Museum Afghanistan, Kabul. Photograph by the author.

Plate 34: Modern bracelets from the tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. Photograph by the author.

Plate 37: Modern Armlet from Afghanistan, displayed in National Museum Afghanistan, Kabul. Photograph by the author.

Plate 35: Modern Bracelets from Afghanistan, displayed in National Museum Afghanistan, Kabul. Photograph by the author.

Modern bracelets (Plate 34 & 35) from the tribal areas of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and Afghanistan confirm the connection of older trends with the modern ones. They look a lot like the openwork bracelets discovered from Taxila (Plate 7). They also resemble with the bracelets worn by Bodhisattva from Sahri Bahlol (Plates 21).

Conclusion:

Armlets, bracelets and bangles are displayed beautifully which signify their importance among the other jewelry items. The study of Gandhara sculptures signify that these items were worn by males and females of royal and common class alike. Armbands were highly decorated when depicted on the images of Bodhisattvas. Finger rings were infrequently worn. The minuteness, of those depicted, do not allow to study the details.

It should be noted that the designs of arm jewelry depicted in the Gandhara sculptures are the source of design for the present-day jewelry. Many of them still prevail not only in the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa and tribes of Afghanistan but they also circulated all over South Asia. Continuity of antique trends across the boundaries of South Asia indicates the appreciation of past skills and techniques.

The continuity of earlier designs and styles of arm jewelry, depicted in the Gandhara sculptures, in modern culture of Khyber Pakhtunkhwa establish the endurance of styles over centuries. The culture of modern Khyber Pakhtunkhwa is still famous for the skill of jewelry. The Pakhtun culture remains distinct due to its connectivity with its ancient heritage serving as the symbol of their recognition.

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Art History/Studies

Comparative Analysis of the Gandhāran Floral Motifs from Butkara (I and III) and Takht-i-Bahi

Shaista Sher

Dr. Abdul Hameed

Abstract

The representation of floral motifs is deeply rooted in the arts and crafts since the prehistoric era. In South Asia, these motifs have long been used for the purpose of decoration as well as religious symbolism. The earliest representation of floral motifs in the region is assigned to the 3rd millennium BCE. For instance, the pottery from Mundigak in southern Afghanistan and Indus seals from Nausharo dated to the third millennium BCE depict Pipal leaf designs which later became a religious symbol in the South Asian Buddhist Art. Floral motifs were extensively used in the Buddhist art of Gandhara both for religious and ornamentation purposes. The present paper focuses on the stone sculptures unearthed from Butkara I and III (Swat) and Takht-i-Bahi (Mardan) depicting a variety of floral motifs. A detailed analysis of these motifs shows that many of the sculptures from the selected sites bear common motifs. However, each of the site also represent some unique motifs used for ornamentation or religious symbols.

Keywords: Floral Motifs, Butkara I, Butkara III, Takht-i-Bahi, Gandhara, Buddhist Art

Introduction

Floral motifs are deeply entrenched in South Asian art. We find them in every phase and in every period, whether it be in the early Buddhist sculptures, in the mediaeval paintings of Ajantā, in the elaborate architecture of the Hindus and Jains, or in the monumental structures of the Mughals (Marshall, 1960: 13-15). Floral motifs are used as a decorative element as well as being imbued with a range of symbolism, both religious and secular and those produced by the Buddhist school of Gandhāra bear the most detailed and exquisite floral representations. They are most commonly seen on stone panels that elaborately depict the biography of the Buddha.

The Buddhist school of Gandhāra represents a unique amalgam of South Asian and western styles of art and has been a subject of research and continuous debates for years. The ancient province of Gandhāra in the northwest frontier of the Indian subcontinent was comprised of the Peshawar Valley and the hilly areas of Swāt, Dīr, Buner and Bajaur. However, for cultural purposes its boundaries can be said to have extended up to the Kabul Valley, southern Afghānistān and the Potwar plateau of the province of Punjab, where the grand stupa of Manikyāla is situated (Hasan, 2013: 3). Owing to its important position on the trade routes connecting the Central/Western Asia, Iranian and Graeco-Roman worlds with the South Asian polities, this region received cultural influences from many directions (Ali & Qazi, 2008: 9; Vogel, 1953: 124-126).

Map 1. Map Showing location of the Selected Sites

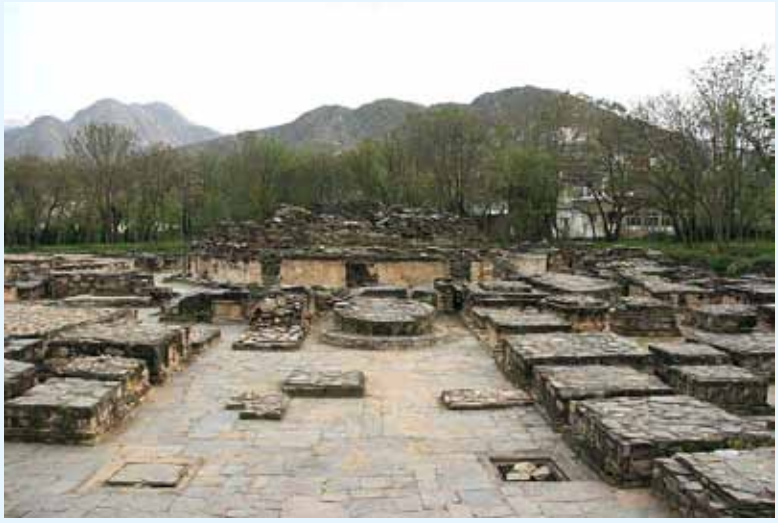


Figure I. Butkara I: General view of the structural remains

Figure II. Butkara III: General view of the Buddhist stupas

The legacy of Hellenism was integrated with local traditions, thus creating a multi-cultural Hellenistic lexicon out of which was born the Gandhāra School of art – a unique blend of east and west. Although, this art has remained one of the main subjects of research and debates for years, there are still many important aspects that need proper attention. One such aspect is the representation of floral motifs on stone panels. A good number of such motifs have come from the Buddhist sites of Butkara I and III (Swāt) and Takht-i-Bhai (Mardān). The floral motifs of these sites are the focus of the present study.

Aims and Objectives

The present research focuses on the floral motifs found from three important sites, which include Butkara I and III in Swāt and Takht-i-Bhai in the Mardān District of the Khyber Pakhtunkhwa. The aims of the present study are fourfold; firstly, to know about the religious significance and symbolic meanings of various floral motifs; secondly to highlight the common floral motifs found from the three selected Buddhist sites (i.e. Butkara I and III and Takht-i-Bahi; thirdly to investigate the unique floral motifs from the selected sites and lastly, to trace the origin and development of various floral motifs found from the selected sites. The study will not only help to understand the religious aesthetic meaning of the floral motifs depicted in the Buddhist art but also will through light on the common and unique motifs used by the ancient artists in the Gandhara and Udiyana regions.

The floral motifs, being one of the most important features of the Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, were extensively used for ornamentation as well as religious symbolism. For instance, the lotus flower is a major Buddhist symbol of purity and renunciation. It represents the blossoming of wholesome activities, which when performed to completion, eventually allows a person to free him or herself from the suffering of cyclic existence. The lotus thrones upon which the deities sit or stand symbolize their divine origin (Beer, 2003: 13). The polygon of a stupa has a logical place as a symbol of an intermediary world of space, being fixed literally by the four, eight, sixteen or thirty-two directions of space. This concept of

Figure III. The World Heritage Site of Takht-i-Bahi, overlooking southeast

spatial orientation has given rise to the beautiful treatment of an expanded lotus flower with its eight, sixteen or thirty-two petals – a recurring feature of stupa-ornamentation (Irwin, 1980: 28). Similarly, in Tibetan Buddhist art, the branch of tree with a single stem with three fruits and leaves symbolizes the three jewels, i.e. *Buddha, Dharma and Sanghā* (Beer, 2003: 33: 33).

Significance of the Research

Like other parts of the world floral motifs have also been used by the artists in the ancient Gandhara and Udiyana regions. But despite their religious and artistic significance, very limited research has been undertaken on these motifs. The book 'Art Greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra by Alfred Foucher, is no doubt one of the most comprehensive works on the floral motifs of Gandhāra Buddhist art (Foucher, 1905: 218-222). However, for scholars not proficient in French, this monograph is not accessible. The Repertory of terms by Domenico Faccenna, and Anna Filigenzi is perhaps the best source for understanding the various terms of different Gandharan motifs . The present paper is an attempt to understand artistic, religious and symbolic meanings and importance of the floral motifs depicted in the Buddhist Art.

It is not possible to discuss the floral motifs from all of the excavated sites in Gandhara and Udiyana, the present paper therefor focuses on the motifs unearthed from the three sites (i.e Butkara I and III and Takht-i-Bahi).

The selected sites (Map.1, Fig.. II-III) have been extensively excavated by scholars from different institutions. The Buddhist site of Butkara I, lies about a kilometre north-east of Mingora on the left bank of the rivulet of Jambil Valley. The site is surrounded by other important archaeological sites including that of Loebanr and Butkara II (Hasan, 2013: 65-66). The name Butkara according to the scholars is the corrupted form of the Persian word "*Butkada*" meaning the house of Idols (Rehman, 1991: 152; Faccenna, 1980). Excavations at Butkara I, were carried out by the Italian Archaeological Mission to Pakistan from 1956 to 1962 (Domenico Faccenna, 1980). IsMEO published a series of excavations reports on Butkara I, but the most comprehensive report and memoir was published in 1964 (Domenico Faccenna & Taddei, 1964).

The second site, i.e. Butkara III lies astride on the sides ravine called Nari Khwar – one of the natural streams which drains the northern side of the Kato-Khpa hill and finally joins the Jambil, a tributary of the Swāt River (Rehman, 1991: 152). Excavations at the site were conducted by the Department of Archaeology, University of Peshawar in 1982, which were latter resumed in 1985 under the supervision of Abdur Rahman. These excavations revealed a large number of artefacts including 180 sculptures, which are now housed in the Sir Sahibzada Abdul Qayum (SSAQ) Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar.

The World heritage site of Takht-i-Bahi is located in District Mardān about 15 km to the northwest of Hothi, to the right side of Mardān-Swāt road. The site was for the first time discovered by General Court in 1936. It was later visited by many other amateur British Army officers and archaeologists including Sir Alexander Cunningham. Excavations at the site were first carried out by Sappers and Miners, which were later resumed by D.B. Spooner and Hargreaves (Spooner, 1911). Excavations at Takht-i-Bahi yielded thousands of archaeological objects including sculptures now lying in different Museums in Pakistan and abroad. But the most extensive collection of sculptures including those adorned with floral motifs, reported from this site, is now housed in the Peshawar Museum.

Floral motifs have been represented through different media and using different materials – most of which being perishable, have decayed and disappeared with the passage of time. For primary evidence, therefore, one has to rely mainly on sources such as sculptures, paintings and literature. The study of these motifs, which are also infused with a distinct cultural identity, help us to interpret the ancient past of the region. The panels depict floral motifs reported from the three selected sites have come from proper stratigraphic context and have been assigned different periods based on numismatic evidences and other associated artifacts.

Classification and Analysis

Most of the archaeological artefacts specially, the Buddhist sculptures are housed in different museums in and abroad, therefore, access to all these materials was not easy. Fortunately, the researchers had access to the most extensive collection from the three sites now housed in the Peshawar Museum, Peshawar, Mardān Museum and the SSAQ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar. In addition, the published excavation reports and catalogues were also consulted in the present study.

A total of 416 stone sculptures adorned with floral motifs were selected from three sites. Of these, 168 floral motifs were selected from Butkara I, 145 motifs from Butkara III and 103 from Takht-i-Bahi. In nearly every style, motifs are derived from the plant world to produce various patterns. Leaves and flowers either singly or combined have been adopted in almost all schools of art. For this purpose, the artists have selected some leaves that have specific form and shapes, which are further developed into basic ornaments in accordance with rules of rhythm and symmetry. The floral motifs (flowers and leaves) selected from the three sites may be classified into the following categories:

- **Lanceolate Leaves** (Fig. IV)**:** Lanceolate leaves were one of the most common floral motifs used from all the selected sites. A total of 142 lanceolate leaves were noticed from the three sites of these, the most extensive number (i.e. 70) have come from Butkara III. Butkara I reveal 45 and 27 were reported from Takht-i-Bahi.

- **Lotus** (Fig. V)**:** A total of 130 panels adorned with lotus motifs were noticed from the three sites during the present study. Of these, 52 have come from Butkara I, 51 from Butkara III and 27 from Takht-i-Bahi.

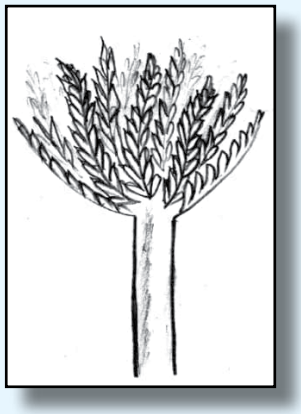


Figure IV. Lanceolate Branch (Sketch by the Senior Author)

- **Acanthus (Leaves/Scrolls)** (Fig. VI)**:** Acanthus leaves motifs is placed in the 3rd position in terms of number. The three sites reveal 101 acanthus scrolls and leaves. Forty-eight out of the total number were reported from Butkara I, twenty-eight from

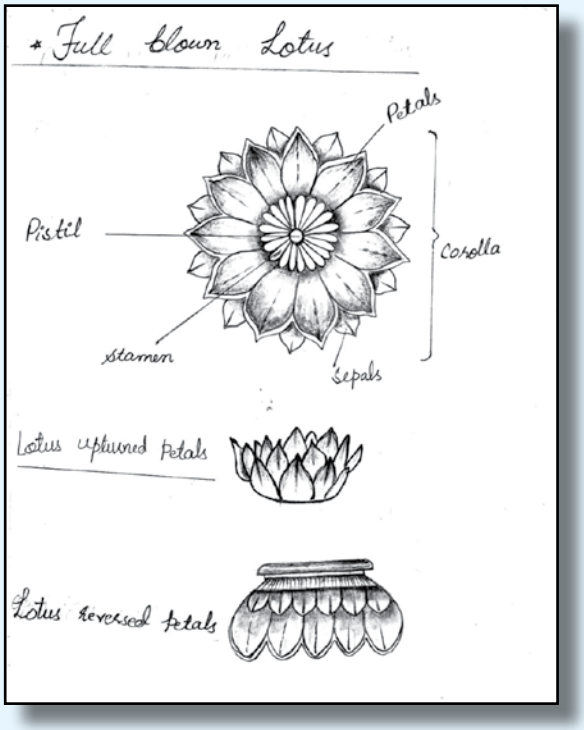


Figure V. Lotus in different form (Sketch by the Senior Author)

Butkara III and twenty-five from Takht-i-Bahi site including the two acanthus scrolls.

- **Rosettes** (Fig. VII)**:** The present study has revealed a total of 56 rosette motifs. Of these, 27 have come from Butkara I, 17 including three scrolls from Takht-i-Bahi and 12 from Butkara III.

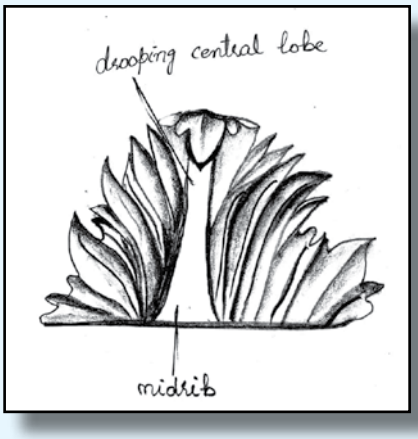


Figure VI.Acanthus Leaves (Sketch by the Senior Author)

- **Vine (Leaves/Scrolls/Shoots)** (Fig. VIII)**:** A total of 31 vine motifs were noticed from the Butkara I and III sites during the present study. The former revealed 10 vine scrolls and 12 shoots, while the latter 3 leaves and 6 scrolls. No Vine motif was noticed from the Takht-i-Bahi collection exhibited in the Peshawar and Mardān Museums.

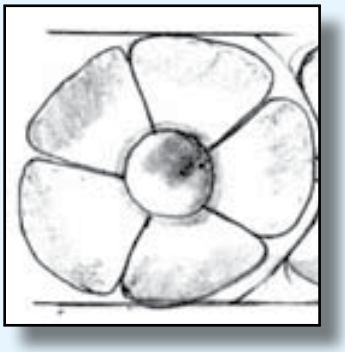


Figure VII. Rosette(Sketch by the Senior Author)

- **Leaf-and-dart pattern** (Fig. IX)**:** Analyses of the stones panels from the three sites revealed a total of 24 Leaf-and-dart pattern. Of these, the most extensive number i.e. 22 have come from Butkara I, while the remaining two sites revealed one each.

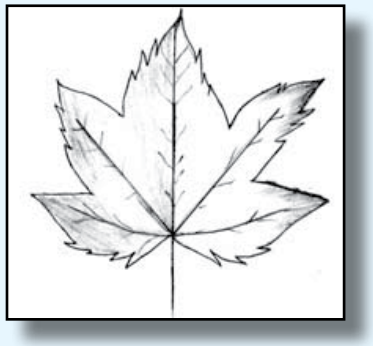


Figure VIII. Vine Leaf: Sketch by the Author

- **Trifid calices** (Fig. X)**:** A total of 23 stone panels adorned with Trifid calices were reported from Butkara III and Takht-i-Bahi. Nineteen out of the total Trifid calices motifs have come from

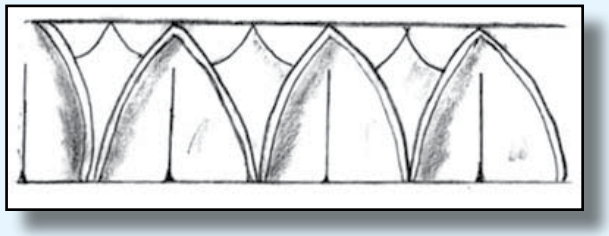


Figure IX. Leaf and Dart Pattern: Sketch by the Author

Butkara III and four from Takht-i-Bahi. No traces of Trifid calices were found from Butkara I.

- **Flame palmette/ honey suckle plant** (Fig. XI)**:** A total of 15 Flame palmette/ honey suckle

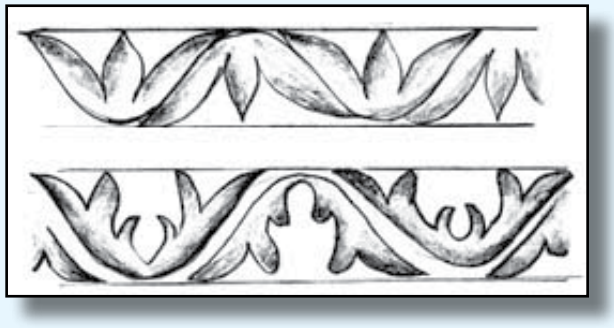


Figure X Trifid Calcite: Sketches by the Author

plant were reported from the three during the present study. Ten out of the total have come from Butkara III. Butkata I revealed three and only two of the said motifs were reported from the selected collection of Takht-i-Bahi.

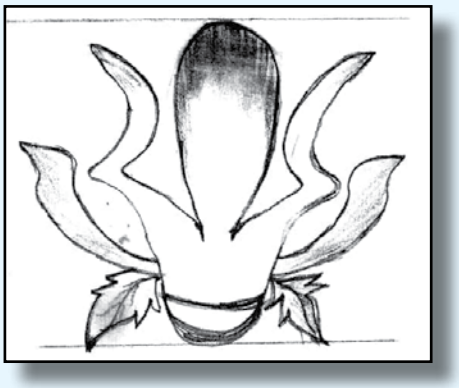


Figure XI. Flame Palmette/Honey Suckle: Sketch by the Author

- **Pipal (Leaves/Scrolls)** (Fig. XII)**:** The representation of Pipal leaves and scrolls was noticed from Butkara III and Takht-i-Bahi. A total of 14 such motifs (seven from each site) were reported during the present study.

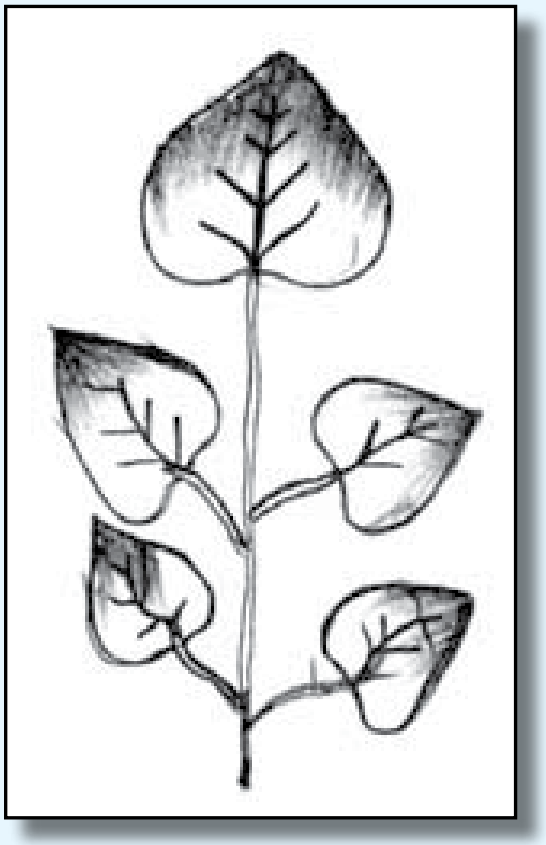


Figure XII. Pipal Branch: Sketch by the Author

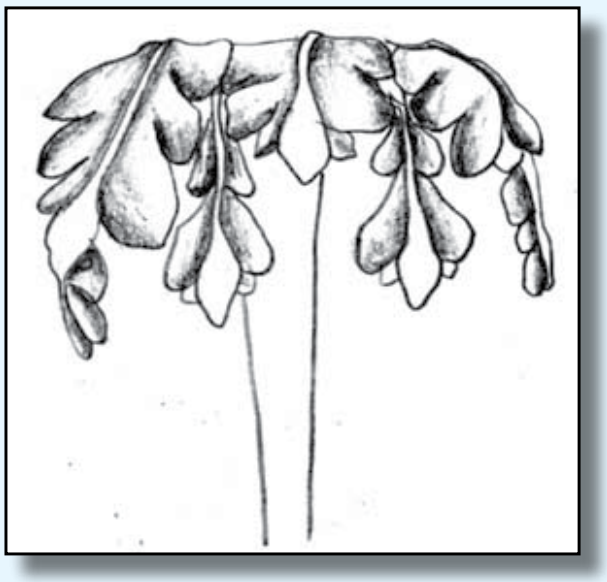


Figure XIII. Lobate Leaves: Sketch by the Author

- **Lobate leaves** (Fig. XIII)**:** The lobate leaves motif was very exceptional. Only one panel from Takht-i-Bahi depicts this design.

- **Rosette and Sheaf** (Fig. XIV)**:** A total of 7 rosette and sheaf design were identified from Butkara I and IIIsites during the present study. Of these the former contains five and the latter only two. No evidences of this floral motif were reported from the Takht-i-Bhai collection housed in the Peshawar and Mardān Museums.

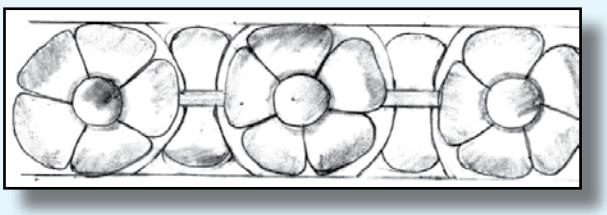
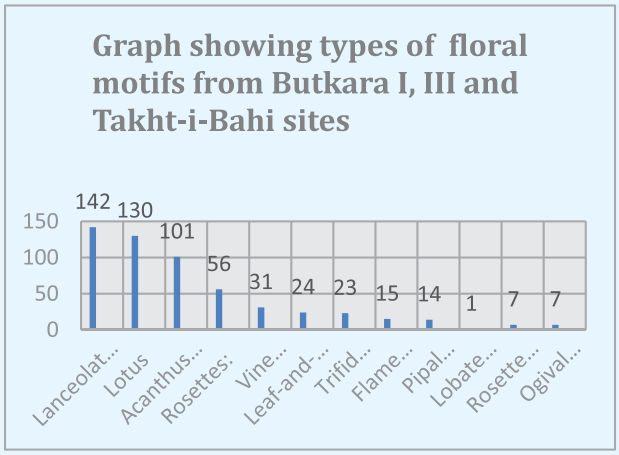
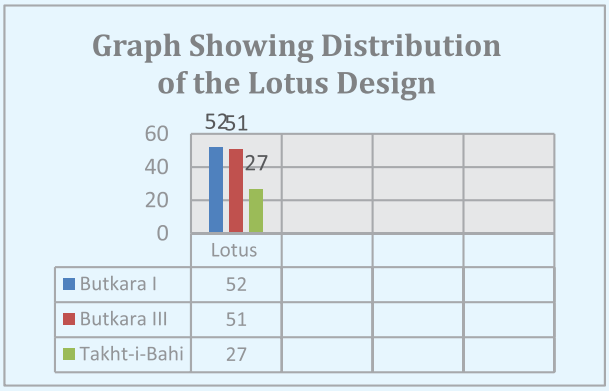
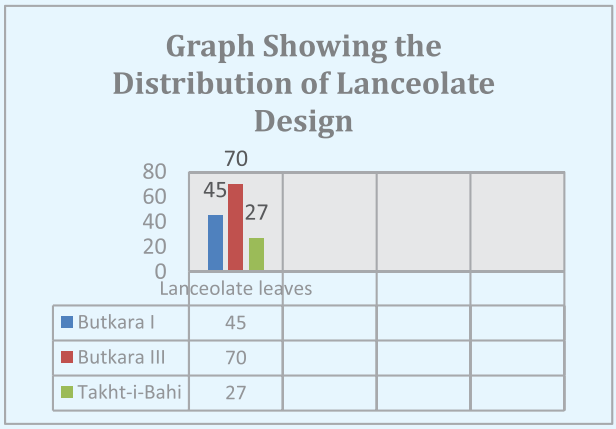


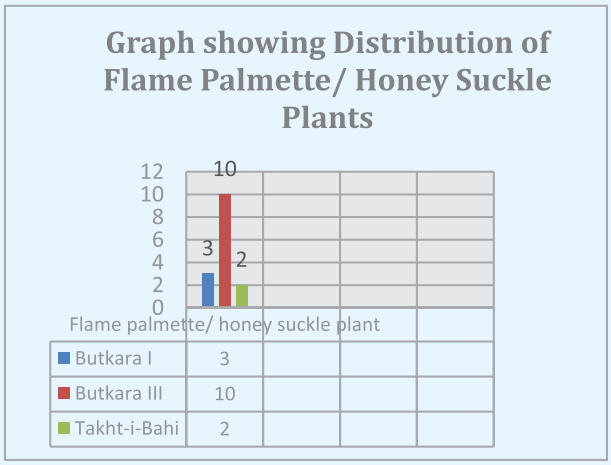
Figure XIV. Rosette and Sheaf: Sketch by the Author

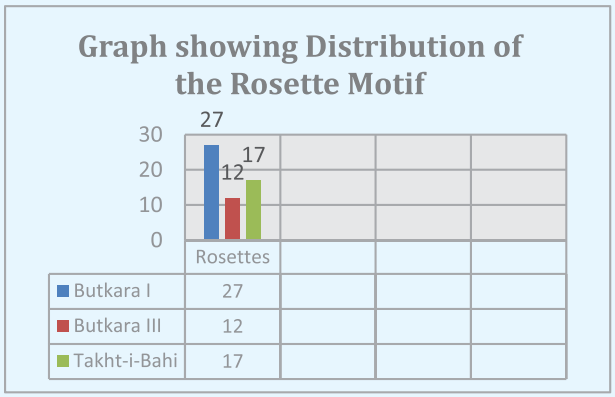
Graphs Showing the Types Distribution of the Floral Motifs from the Selected Sites

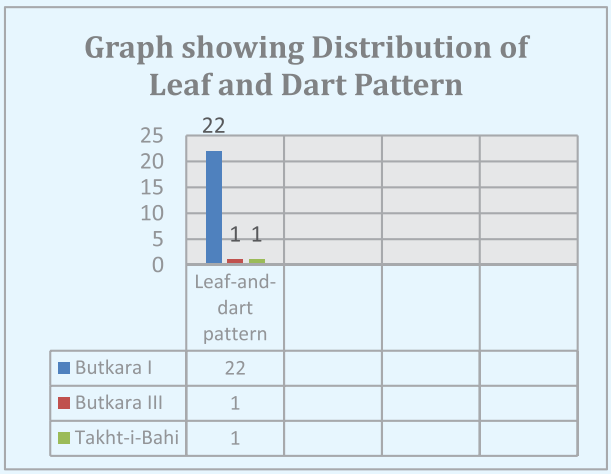


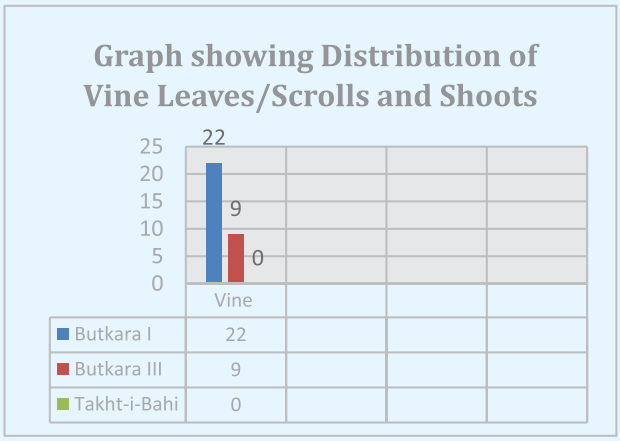


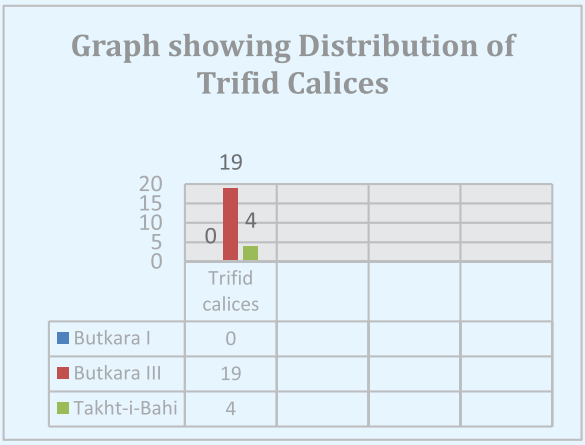


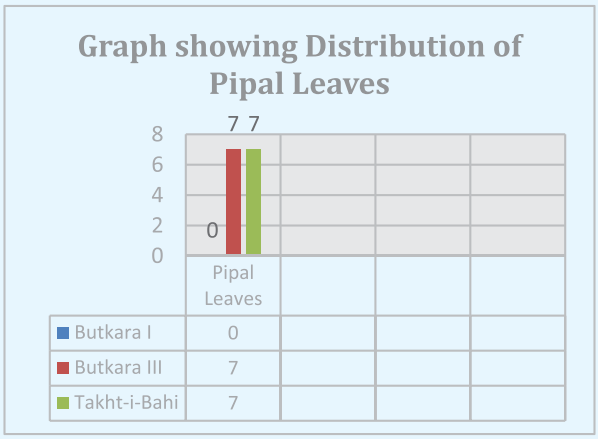


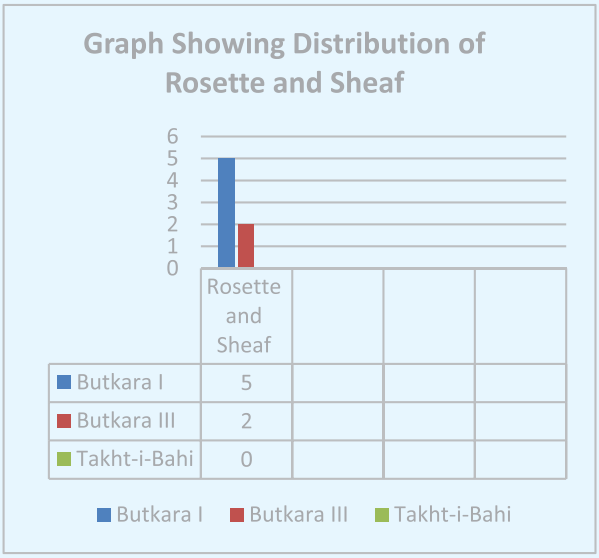


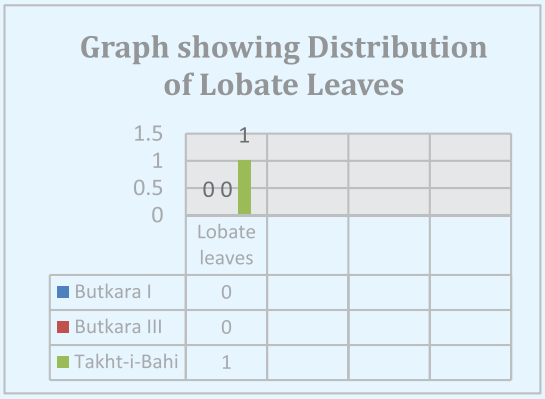



Graph showing Distribution of Vine Leaves/Scrolls and Shoots
25
20
15
10
5
0
22
9
0
Vine
Butkara I 22
Butkara III 9
Takht-i-Bahi 0


Graph showing Distribution of Trifid Calices
20
15
10
5
0
19
0
4
Trifid calices
Butkara I 0
Butkara III 19
Takht-i-Bahi 4


Graph showing Distribution of Pipal Leaves
8
6
4
2
0
7 7
0
Pipal Leaves
Butkara I 0
Butkara III 7
Takht-i-Bahi 7


Graph Showing Distribution of Rosette and Sheaf
6
5
4
3
2
1
0
Rosette and Sheaf
Butkara I 5
Butkara III 2
Takht-i-Bahi 0
Butkara I
Butkara III
Takht-i-Bahi


Graph showing Distribution of Lobate Leaves
1.5
1
0.5
0
1
0 0
Lobate leaves
Butkara I 0
Butkara III 0
Takht-i-Bahi 1

Analysis and Discussion

After a detailed documentation of the floral motifs from the three sites, it was noticed that the three sites do share many common floral motifs. However, some of the motifs are unique and are confined to one or two sites. For instance, the common floral motifs from the three sites include lanceolate leaves, acanthus leaves, lotus, rosettes, flame palmate, leaf-and-dart pattern. Of the remainders, the Vine leaves/scrolls were reported from Butkara I and III; the pipal leaves and trifid calcite from Butkara III and Takht-i-Bahi. While lobate leaves were identified from Takht-i-Bahi collection. The full blown upward or inward lotus is used to represent the Buddha's throne. In some reliefs the Buddha is seated under the lanceolate branched trees. The acanthus and lanceolate leaves are mostly used to adorn the cornices of architectural elements. The top of the arches is decorated with flame palmate.

The garlands reported from BK I and III and Takht-i-Bahi have pipal, grapes, lanceolate, acanthus and lotus decoration separated by different decorative bands. At Butkara I, the door jambs are beautifully decorated with rosette-and-sheaf pattern, rosettes, rosettes scroll, vine branches and vine scroll, and some fragments of a frieze decorated with leaf-and-dart molding. The sculptures from Butkara I, are unique in terms of decorative elements. For instance, no 3744 (Fig. XV) is Corinthian capital, the abacus is decorated with full blown lotus flowers on slender stems on each side; right one has bilobed petals and left has cut petals design. The *Kalathos* (basket) is adorned with cauliculus and acanthus leaves. Another relief fragment of green schist depicts overlapping lanceolate leaves, unique specimen is no. 3212 (Fig. XVI), the halo behind the Buddha's head is decorated with five-petalled flowers, are seven in numbers (Faccenna, 1962: 11). The third important sculptures with unique floral motif is no. 6579, (Fig. XVII) preserves a part of standing Buddha with beamed lotus-shaped halo over which are four half blown lotus flowers (Faccenna, 1962: 11).

Figure XV. (After Faccenna 1962) Butkara I: Corinthian capital, the abacus is decorated with full blown lotus flowers (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XVI. (After Faccenna 1962) Butkara I: Halo behind the Buddha's head is decorated with five- petalled flowers (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XVII (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: Buddha with beamed lotus-shaped halo over which are four half blown lotus flowers. (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XIII. (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: female head having three rosettes on each cheek. (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XIX. (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: A female figure having hair knot with a garland of flowers (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XX. (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: A standing female figure having a garland of full blown rosettes on her head (Curtesy (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XXI. (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: A female figure having wavy hair bound by a garland with two flowers (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

Figure XXII. (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: Bed sheet adorned with bands of vine and lotus scroll (Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

In the Butkara volume III, the pattern is described as a rosette and sheaf. The pattern is common, being incorporated into textile, jewelry, and carpentry crafts of Gandhāra. The introduction of these elements in the relief expresses local values, customs, and belief that are, however, congenial to the Buddhist themes. Some of the female figures reported from Butkara I, have unique floral decoration like no.1716 (Fig. XVIII), a female head having three rosettes on each cheek and hair are bound by rows of flowers or beads. Another female figure i.e. no. 194 (Fig. XIX), having hair knot with a garland of flowers and a large ornament in the shape of a lotus flower on the left side of the head (Faccenna, 1964). Figure1710 (Fig. XX), a standing female figure having a garland of full blown rosettes on her head. A female head (no.2207) (Fig. XXI), having wavy hair bound by a garland with two flowers (Faccenna, 1964: 13). A relief showing Maya's dream in which the queen is lying on bed covered with bed sheet adorned with bands of vine and lotus scroll no. 4207 (Fig. XXII), reported from BK I (Faccenna,1964). Male figures emerging from an acanthus leaves, for instance, no.1507 (Fig. XXIII), and vine shoots having drilled holes in the leaves such as no.70, are also unique representation in Butkara I reliefs.

The reliefs reported from BK III are also significant. A panel showing Nagaraja emerging from full blown lotus having four petals of the corner are larger than the others and the middle one is smaller no. BK III 1982-1-197 (Fig. XXIV) (Khan, 2015: 53). Some of the panels from Butkara III comprise two or three compartments with different decoration, for instance no. BKIII 1985-1-180 (Fig. XXV), a rectangular panel comprises three compartments separated by Indo-Persepolitan column. Each section has figures in arches. The frame of first arch (right side) is decorated with a row of opposite scale and the central and left has bead and reel design. The tympanums of first and middle are filled with four petalled rosettes and the left with a pipal leaf. The cornice is adorned with a row of reverse rounded petals (Khan, 2015: 13). The undulating garlands reported from all the sites, but those reported from Butkara III are very exclusive and unique. These garlands are divided into different sections having multi floral designs. For example, no. BKIII 1985-1-148 (Fig. XXVI) representing a garland, which is divided into five sections by four decorated bands on regular intervals. The ribbons from right to left; the first one has a row of twisted

Figure XXIII. (After Faccenna 19762) Butkara I: Male figures emerging from an acanthus leave(Courtesy by ISMEO Italian Mission in Pakistan)

beads, (second and fourth) have a row of opposite trifid calices and third has a row or ovate leaves pattern. The lower right curve has strands of opposite pointed leaves. The upper right curve has pipal leaves, the lower central curve has overlapping lanceolate leaves. The upper curve has overlapping rosettes and the lower left curve has twisted beaded bands within oblique plain band motifs. The knotted bands are falling to the ground with the ends turned up. At the bottom of the central dip a bunch comprises a lotus bud, open lotus with reverse petals and grapes are hanging by their stalks (Khan, 2015: 57).

Rectangular panels having beautiful full-blown lotus with prominent pistil, stamens petals and sepals are unique representations on Butkara III reliefs, which can be seen on BKIII 1985-1-119 (Fig. XXVII) (Khan, 2015: 59). Panel under lunette arches (BKIII 1985-1-104, (Fig. XXVIII) carved with volute carinated arch. The registers are separated by dividing arches decorated with row of trifid calices alternating vertical and reverse and enclosed by vertical jambs decorated with vine

Figure XXIV. Butkara III: panel showing Nagaraja merging from full blown lotus (Courtesy of SSAQ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar)

Figure XXV. Butkara III: Panel showing bead and reel design (Courtesy of SSAQ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar)

scrolls. The upper lunette is filled with palmette and vertical tuft (honeysuckle plant and hanging scrolls of vines. The outer frame is embellished with saw-tooth motifs (Khan, 2015: 59).

The panels decorated with floral motifs reported from Takht-i-Bahi are also worth mentioning. For example, a beautiful panel representing Triratna or the three jewels arranged in a row and each bejeweled with 10-petalled rosettes having pistil and the chakra decorated with full blown lotus flower placed on the rectangular pedestal no. PM_02845 (Fig. XXIX). Accession no. PM_01102 (Fig. XXX), a stupa with elegantly engraved floral and geometrical designs. The dome is decorated with reverse bordered ogival leaves, the second portion with row of opposite triangle filled with parallel lines. The third fragment of the same depiction has row of trifid calices and last portion shows row of saw-teeth. A unique Stone water flask from Takht-i-Bahi, no. PM_00500 (Fig. XXXI), depicts with floral designs. The lower band is adorned with row of bordered ogival leaves pattern, the middle band with rosette having elaborated pistil. Other unique panels from Takht-i-Bahi include PM_01110), (Fig. XXXII), a broken fragment showing tangent rosette with pointed petals connected with each other and (PM_00999, (Fig. XXXIII), panel depicts Buddha, standing on a lotus throne.

The floral motifs reported from Takht-i-Bahi are from different periods. Among the selected sculptures and panels, 22 (i.e. PM_00868, 00954, 00999, 01011, 01063, 02713, 01925, 02828, 02829, 02832, 02844, 02845, 02929, 02973, 02974, 02981, 02999, 03020, 3037, 03120, 03129, 03254) are dated to 2nd to 3rd century A.D. While four (i.e. PM_00004, 00044, 00098, 00660 are assigned to the 3rd – 4th century CE. Rest of panels from Takht-i-Bahi depicting floral motifs having been received either as donations or confiscated materials, are yet to be assigned proper dates. The panels selected from Butkara III collection have been assigned to 1st-3rd century CE. While those from Butkara I, are of differed periods.

The most common floral designs dated to 2nd/3rd century CE from the three selected sites are: acanthus leaves, lanceolate leaves, lotus, Bodhi tree which also

Figure XXVI. Butkara III: Garland decorated with multi floral designs (Courtesy of SSAQ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar)

Figure XXVII. Butkara III:Panel adorned with a full-blown lotus with prominent pistil between two Pilasters (Courtesy of SSAQ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar)

Figure XXVIII Butkara III: arches decorated with row of trifid calices alternating vertical and reverse (Courtesy of SSAQ Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, University of Peshawar)

continued in the succeeding periods i.e. 3rd and 4th century CE. The panels found at Butakara I and Bukara III are exceptional and very fine in terms of decoration. Taking the example of garland reported from the three sites, which is different in decoration. The garlands reported from Takht-i-Bahi have single decorative pattern; while the floral designs on the garland from Butkara III are more diverse. The garland of Butkara III are adorned with lanceolate leaves, rosettes, lotus flower, trifid calices, pipal leaves, vine leaves and leaf-and-dart pattern separated by decorated bands. The lotus flowers depicted on the panels is either close, half opened or full blown. Vine leaves are represented in some panels of the said sites in the form of vine leaves and vine scroll. But vine shoots and vine leaves having drilled holes are exceptional in Butkara I. The rosettes are also depicted in different designs. Some of them are four petalled, some five and some seven to eight having clear

Figure XXIX. Takht-i-Bahi: Triratna arranged in a row and each bejeweled with 10-petalled rosettes (Courtesy, DOAM Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

Figure XXX. Takht-i-Bahi: stupa model with elegantly engraved floral and geometrical designs (Courtesy, DOAM Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

Figure XXXI. Takht-i-Bahi: Water flask decorated with floral motifs (Courtesy, DOAM Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

Figure XXXII. Takht-i-Bhi: A Stone broken fragment showing tangent rosette with pointed petals (Courtesy, DOAM Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

Figure XXXIII. Takht-i-Bahi: A stone Panel depicts Buddha, standing on a lotus throne (Courtesy, DOAM Khyber Pakhtunkhwa)

sepal, stamens and pistil. Lanceolate leaves are used to decor the cornices as well as the trees that covered the seated Buddha. The cornices of rectangular panels are also decorated with leaf-and-dart pattern. Flame palmettes are used to adorn the top of arches. The garlands are adorned with the all mentioned floral motifs. Correspondingly, visual analysis found likeness in floral elements, element character, compositional pattern and principle designs. Perhaps the one reason that the floral motifs were almost always applied by the craftsmen as they were inspired and fascinated by the beautiful elements of flowers and leaves because the floral motifs dominate the carvings and add attraction and beauty in it.

Conclusion

A total of 416 panels depicting floral motifs were selected and analyzed during the present research. Most of these panels are dated from the 2nd - 4th Century CE. Statistical analysis of the sculptures from the three selected sites shows that 313 floral motifs out of 416 have come from Butkara I and III. While Takht-i-Bahi site reveals lesser number of floral motifs.

The selected panels from the three sites depict a variety of floral motifs, which include lanceolate leaves, acanthus leaves, lotus, rosettes, flame palmate, Leaf-and-dart pattern, vine leaves, vine scrolls, pipal leaves, lobate leaves and Trifid calices. Except the last four motifs, the remaining designs found from all the three sites but in different ratio.

The exceptional decoration was noticed from Butkara III i.e. garlands embellished with all types of floral motifs i.e. lanceolate leaves, rosettes, lotus flower, trifid calices, pipal leaves, vine leaves and leaf-and-dart pattern separated by decorated bands. While among those reported from Butkara I, the female figures face and head elaborated with rosettes is incomparable. While the most common architectural elements adorned with floral motifs include Corinthian and Persepolitan columns, pilasters, capitals, carinated arches and medallions and cornices.

The vine leaves, scroll, and shoots were found confined to Butkara I and III, the pipal leaves and scroll were found from Takht-i-Bahi and Butkara III. The lobate leaves were noticed only from Takht-i-Bahi; while the Trifid calices came from Takht-i-Bahi and Butkara III. The absence of certain motifs from these sites may be due to the different environmental condition, religious sects and the chronology of the sites. The versatility in floral motifs from Butkara I and Butkarha III may be because of the abundance vegetation in Swāt that can still be seen in the region.

Analysis of the data collected from the three sites reveal that the floral motifs from Butkara I and Butkara III are more sophisticated as compare to those from Takht-i-Bahi. This may be because the earlier sites were occupied for a longer span of time or because of the access to the limited materials from the former site. Apart from the Peshawar Museum Peshawar and Mardān Museum, a large number of the Buddhist sculptures are presently house in different other Museums of the world including the Lahore Museum, Calcutta Museum and the British Museum, London.

Floral motifs were used in the Buddhist Art of Gandhāra, for both religious and decorative purposes. The lotus has been a symbol of purity since before the time of the Buddha. In Buddhist art, a fully blooming lotus flower signifies enlightenment; while a closed bud represents a time before enlightenment (Brien, 2017). The practice of depicting the deities on the lotus-seat, lotus-throne or lotus-pedestal signifies that the feet of the divine beings do not touch the earth. The lotus thrones upon which the deities sit or stand symbolize their divine origin (Beer, 2003: 13). In Tibetan Buddhist art, the branch of tree with a single stem with three fruits and leaves symbolizes the three jewels, i.e. *Buddha, Dharma* and *Sanghā* (Beer, 2003: 33: 33). Vine and lotus scroll have also been used for ornamentation. This example can be notice on one of the reliefs from Butkara I, showing Maya's dream, lying on bed covered with bed sheet embellished with bands of vine and lotus scroll. This type of ornamentation with different types of floral motifs is also still in practice. Similarly, the rosettes motifs were used to adorn the architectural elements as well as the sculptures. At Butkara I, these motifs are used to embellish the female figure faces; while the garlands on the head of female figures are for beautification.

Representation of tree is yet another important floral motif found from the three sites. In the Buddhist tradition, several different trees play a critical role in the life of the historical Buddha, Shakyamuni, most notably at the moments of his birth, his enlightenment, and his death. And in particular, the site of the tree under which the Buddha attained enlightenment, a pipal tree in Bodh Gaya, India, is still revered today as the locus of his spiritual awakening due to its powerful spiritual symbolism. According to Buddhist legend, Queen Maya, the mother of the prince, gave birth to her child (Siddhārtha) in a miraculous manner in a grove of trees at Lumbini. When she knew that her time was due, she grasped a branch tree with her right hand, and the baby emerged from her right side. The leaves of this tree more closely resemble the acanthus leaves of Greco-Roman sculpture than the simple oval leaves of a teak tree. He is believed to have remained under the tree in a state of deep meditation for several days before attaining *nirvana* and becoming the Buddha. Thus, the tree also became known as the Bodhi tree, or the tree of enlightenment (Mcarthur, 2015: 12-24).

Apart from the sculptures and architectural elements, floral motifs were also used to decorate utensils. The best example has come from the Takht-i-Bahi that has revealed a stone water flask decorated with bordered ogival leaves.

Many of the symbols of Buddhism were not Buddhist inventions, but the common property of all Indic religions. This interchange of symbolism is also seen in the various panels representing Maya, the mother of the Buddha, seated or standing upon a lotus flower springing from a vase, while on either side above her an elephant bathes her from a vase held in its trunk. No doubt, as M. Foucher says, this was meant by the sculptor to symbolize the nativity of the Blessed One. But to many generations of artists before the Buddha's time, it had meant the miraculous birth witnessed every morning when Ushas rose from the cosmic ocean, and the mystic Brahmā lotus, the Creator's throne, unfolded its rosy petals (Havell, 1920:31-33).

The present study measured the types of floral motifs, design their principal designs, compositional patterns, and forms of various carved components such as on panels, garlands, statues, thorns, frames, stupas, pilasters as well as those depicted above doors and cornices. The floral motifs were categorized into eleven major categories.

The most common motifs from the three selected sites as lotus, rosettes palmette, pipal, lanceolate, acanthus but their modes of depiction are different. For instance, there is no evidence of rosettes carving on the face or turban of sculptures from Takht-i-Bahi like those found at Butkara sites. Secondly, no traces of floral motifs on utensils was noticed from Butkara sites. While the Takht-i-Bahi site did reveal such motifs.

In summary, many of these floral motifs from the elected sites are deeply rooted in the South Asian cultures and thus, were transmitted from one to another generation without any distortion or alteration. While others were transformed by the artists according to the requirement. The present analysis of the floral motifs suggests that the carving panels from the 2nd to the 4th century CE illustrated a variety designs attributes and floral motifs and depict the craftsman's expression and creativity. This means that the transformation of the floral motif is an indicator in identifying a variety of elements that describe the craftsmen aptitudes and competencies in a certain era. Thus, the floral motifs derived from Buddhism became the most dominant motifs. The transformations of these floral motifs were also influenced by the craftsman's skill, natural elements, surroundings, religious belief and thoughts. Local craftsmen created floral motifs on carved components that represent different expressions based on their own creativity and artistic style yet maintaining a distinctive beauty. These key motifs originated from Buddhism have important symbolic meanings in their context. And the versatility in floral motifs from Butkara I and Butkara III may be because of the abundance vegetation in Swāt that is still seen in Swāt region.

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Themes, images and symbols depicted on Turbans in Gandhara Art: An Appraisal

Samia Anwar

Abstract

Except for shaved-headed monks variety of characters in Gandhara art are seen wearing various headdresses like wreaths, turbans, fillets, diadems, crowns, caps, helmets, etc. Turbans secured a prime place in Gandhara art due to their antiquity, social, religious, and mystic status in ancient India and Gandhara. Along with protecting the head from the scorching heat of the Sun, it was an icon of social and religious superiority. As in Jataka stories Sakyamuni is mentioned as a princely figure with a turbaned head (Coomaraswamay 1928, pp. 829-30).

Along with aesthetic aspirations introduction of themes and motifs complemented the spiritual meaning of turbans in Gandhara. These symbols were metaphors of gods, deities, and their attributes as a stupa portray Buddha. Various symbols (zoomorphic, avian, floral, numeral, and geometric)culled from everyday life, religion and myths were incorporated tastefully in turbans to instigate celestials to shower their blessing in form of material jackpots and spiritual accomplishments. The purpose of this paper is to shed light on the apotropaic and bulwark (warding off ailments and ghoulies, bring in prosperity)goal of connoting emblems, themes, and legends on utilitarian belongings: in this case turbans.

Introduction

Turban was a headdress of aristocrats and was worn on religious ceremonies like Vajapeya and Rajasuya in ancient India (Coomaraswamay 1928, pp. 818, 830). Investiture with the turban was indicative of successful completion of Vedic course by brahmin students (Yusuf Ali 1901, p.77). Similarly, in Buddhism, it was associated with the compilation of Jataka stories. A passage of Nidanakatha notices by Sivaramurti describes how Sakra tied the usnisa on the head of Prince Siddhartha. 'The large jewel is placed centrally and keeping in position the cloth is then wrapped around the head. There are many veshtanas or circuits of the cloth over the head, and the ray of jewel gives multiple appearances to the folds' (Fabregues 1991, p.288). Turbans portrayed in the Buddhist art of India are copied by Gandhara afterward, where they emerged as an amalgam of fabric, gems, and jewels (Tissot 1985).

Types of Turbans

In Gandhara, turbans are worn by all and sundry like bodhisattvas, kings, and commoners. But aristocrats and the religious class have worn ornamented turbans whereas laymen are seen in simple ones. Turbans were in vogue in Gandhara during the epoch of Buddhism in the region and remain in fashion until its disdain(Schmidt 1990).

Basic turbans

Earlier turbans are styled either by intersecting three self-restraining bands of cloth at the center front of a skull cap or positioned with a jewel in a bezel. we have an example from the simple style of turban from Butkara I, where two men under an arch are adorned with skull cap turban made up of self-restraining bands intersecting at center front with a coronet set up in folds there and bodhisattva standing under an arch from Ramora is bedecked with similar turban (Pl. 1, 2).

Ornate Turbans

In more ornamented types intersecting bands of cloth make panniers on either side of turban, embellished with jewels, gems, and beads. In some cases, crumpled and plain sashes of turban are tither inside knots and at times remaining fabric flaps on sides. Over time crests turned out to be more ornamented of turbans (Schmidt 2008, p.3). Modifications appeared in turbans as in first phase crest contains a faceted or a simple jewel, adjusted on plainly wrapped bands of textiles or lotuses, a stupa, in the second phase a bird clutches an abductee or abductees, in third stage crest shows lion heads spewing strings of pearls, next stage portrays seated Buddha (Schmidt 2008, P.44). The variant of jewels, precious stones, and mythical characters like putti, centaurs, and bifid tritons, kirtimukha, and winged dragon-like animals adorn the sides of the turban.

The ornaments on the Fan of Turban

According to Schmidt an image on a turban was indicative of its nature and function, turbans with images and themes evoke celestial or were indicative of an episode from jatakas (Schmidt 1990, p. 138). Here are motifs and themes portrayed on the cockade of a turban.

1. Small Stupa, cone or gourd shape

The fabric of turban wrapped symmetrically or self-restraining bands of fabric forming single or double panniers, having small or large cockade supporting a small stupa, cone or gourd shape ornament resting usually on a dais of various types. As in the case of royal donors from Butkara, I stupa like ornament is incised horizontally and vertically (Pl. 3, 4). Fabregues quotes Saunders that a stupa in a turban represents Buddha as a granter (Fabregues 1991, p.319). In the case of a princely figure, the jewel seems like protruding folds of fabric pulled out of a ring (Pl. 5) (Fig. 1). King Suddhodna is wearing a turban with a gourd-shaped jewel sitting on superimposed layers of fabric (Pl. 6). Male figure placed in Government

Pl. 1 Two males standing under an arch from Butkara I

Pl. 2 Bodhisattva standing under an arch from Ramora

Pl. 3 Donor from Butkara III

Pl. 4 Donor from Butkara III

Pl. 5 Princely figure from Butkara III

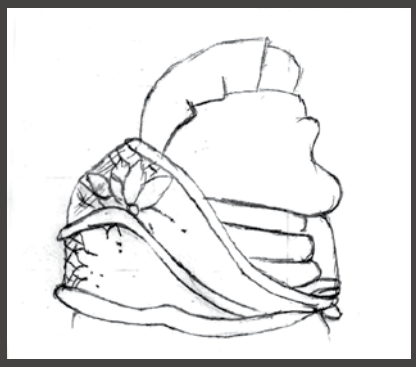

Fig. 1 Turban with protruding folds

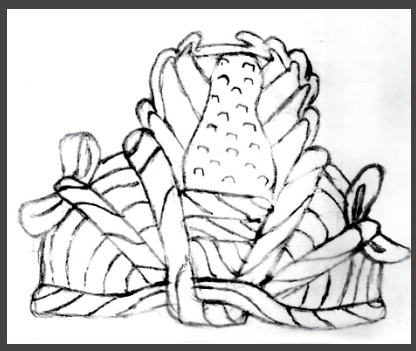

Fig. 2 Vase like jewel in turban

Mmusem of Mathura is adorned with a turban with setup-like ornaments(Huntington 2012).

According to Schmidt, a more vase-like object against the cockade shows a change in style and increasing interest in emblematic values as can be seen in the case of a revered turban from Peshwar Museum (Pl. 7) (Fig. 2) (Schmidt 1990). Stupa in a headdress represents Buddha or any other sacred beings since once it was built to contain sacred relics

Pl. 6 Plaque from Peshawar Museum

Pl. 7Worship of turban from Peshawar Museum

(Vidyavajra 2012). According to O. Bopearachchi, a tower-like stupa in a crown is one of the attributes of bodhisattva Maitreya (Bopearachchi, p. 238).

Lotus and Rosette

Turbans are also enhanced with profusing use of lotus roundels, rosette petal rings, flower terminals, or receptacles and were in vogue in Gandhara and related regions. According to Schmidt, these flower terminals represent flowers of heaven, the mandaravas that are mentioned in the Lotus Sutra (Schmidt 1990, pp.151, 169). lotus was a symbol of the Sun associated with Lakshmi(the spouse of Visnu and a form of mother goddess identified with prosperity) in India(Neva 2012, p.32). In Buddhism Lotus is a sacred symbol of holy birth and integrity Rosettes can be originated in the Mediterranean world and are discovered in Mesopotamia and Ancient Greece. The earliest motifs are seen on a Phaistos disc dating from the 2nd millennium BC, recovered from the Phaistos archaeological site of Phaistos in the south of Crete (Benjamin Schwartz 1952, P. 105- 112). It seems this botanical motif traveled to Gandhara from the Western world. Lotus and rosettes are commonly worn by male and female images in Gandhara.

Pl. 9 Bodhisattva from Panr

The Turban of a princely figure from Butkara is ornamented with a rosette (Pl. 8) (Fig. 3). The addition of flower terminals led to the complex and fully ornamented detailings of turbans (Schmidt 1990, p. 169). As in case of turban worn by bodhisattva from Panr who is adorned with skull cap turban of plain intersecting sashes settled with a round gem in a bezel in a center front layer over by pedestal of fabric with diadem backed with a pleated cockade, in the center front of which has a blown half-lotus, five-petalled rosettes adorn sides and zones are styled with chevron shape gems (Pl. 9). Headdress with floral motif adorns headdress of Balarama from Mathura Museum (Ancient Sculptures from India, 1964, Pl.65). Based on the above-mentioned references, floral motifs in headdress show both ornamental development and spiritual sentient.

Pl. 8 Princely figure from Butkara III

Fig. 3 Floral ornamentation on a turban

An eagle abducting male and female

The motif of a large bird clutching a human figure in its claws sometimes adorns the headdress of the bodhisattva. Turban with this motif is worn by bodhisattva from Lahore Museum (Ingholt 1975, pl. 1-4) and bodhisattva from Shahbaz Garhi (Juhyung Rhi 2009, Fig. 1) (Pl. 10) (Fig. 4). The human image is the anthropomorphic characterization of diety nagi or her spouse naga. Buddhist and Hindu religious and literary documents contain many references to hostility between nagas and garudas. This legend appears in the Gandharan repertoire frequently and bears mythological importance (Jhyung Rhi 2009, pp. 147-8). This motif is identified with the Greek myth of the kidnapping of a Ganymede by Zeus as a large eagle (Schmidt 2008 b: 5and 6) and Indian legend of the mighty garuda abducting his foe the naga (Brian 2009, p.285-6).

Pl. 10 Bodhisattava from Shahbaz Garhi (Juhyung 2009, Fig. 1)

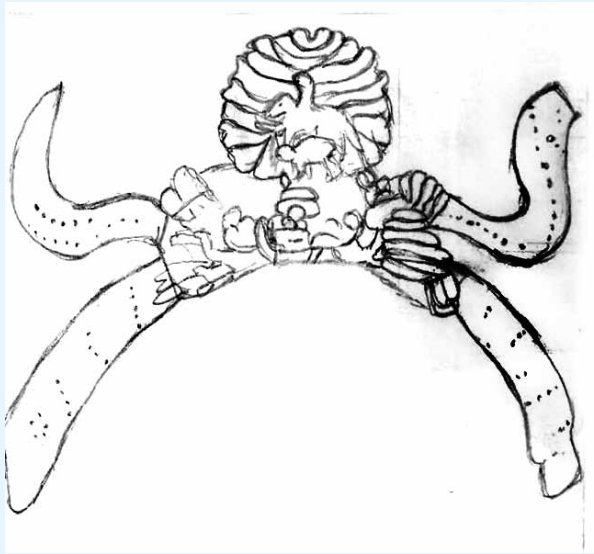

Fig. 4

There is a legend of Nagaraja mucalinda who protected Buddha from rain during seven days of meditation (J. Ph. Vogel, p.102). Naga and garuda are regarded as servants of Buddha in ancient literature (Schmidt 1990, p. 196). Guitty Azarpay emphasizes its significance by relating this motif to Sussondi jataka, where young garuda is considered as a former incarnation of Sakyamuni Buddha. But Alexander Sooper relates the motif with the classical theme of Zeus abducting Ganymede. Gerard Fussman argues that garuda- naga motif in Gandhara art is perhaps an iconographical sign for Avalokitesvara (Juhyung Rhi 2009, pp. 148-150).

This ornament can be compared with a plate of gold in repousse, on the turban of an Afghan soldier (Discovery of Greek Ornament1917, p. 283-286). An ear pendant belonging to the Hellenistic period and dated to 330-300 B.C. beautifully portrays this theme, in this case, Zeus as an eagle, holding a three-dimensional figure of Ganymede the prince of Trojan (McConnell Sophie, p.60-61). Garuda conquering the naga family is portrayed on a plaque from Gandhara dated to the 2nd -3rdcenturyAD (Kurt 2007, Pl.38), on turbans of bodhisattvas(Kurita 1990) on a plaque from Victoria and Albert Museum (Kurita 1990, Pl. 510), on plaques from Swabi and

Sanghao (Kurita 1990, Pls. 513, 514) and Yusuf Zai (Zwalf 1996, Pl. 106), and carved on walls of Angkor wat (Brian 2009, pp. 258-6). Headdress with this theme is seen worn by bodhisattva from Mathura (Schmidt 1990, p. 185). Headdresses embellished with themes are legends are in vogue inis Greek, but this particular legend exists in Indian mythology.

Kirtimukha or lion head

Lion as the king of all the beasts was the ancient emblem of power and protection. In early Buddhism, the lion was associated with Shakyamuni Buddha, who sits on Simhasana. The lion is also a vehicle of many Vajrayana deities (Beer 2003, p.63). This motif frequently appears on architecture in India as a long scroll issuing from a mouth of a kirtimukha adorns the side of the doorsteps of the Sambhulinga temple in Kundgol (Stella, p.84). The handle of gold vessels from Bactria Crete, Greece, Etruria, and Persia are provided with a lion head squeezing the rim of it in their mouth as if protecting the contents (Neva 2008, p. 24). (Fig. 5). The most enchanting lion image employed in the headdress is in form of Kirtimukha vomiting string of pearls, a garland of beads, beaded tassels which shows benefits derived from the voice of Buddha (Schmidt 2008, p.4).

Fig. 5

The lion motif in headgear is representative of the lofty celestial and social status of the wearer. Four armed Harithi from Sahri Bahlol is wearing a headdress with a kirtimukha vomiting strand of pearls. This diadem is in the shape of three arcs the base of which has a chessboard design string of cords of pearls hang from trefoil, kirtimukha in the center front of crown spew rope of pearls in the loop with a square shape gem in the center (Pl. 11). This motif is also identified on the turban worn by bodhisattva from Butkara I (Pl. 12) (Faccenna 1962, Vol. II, Pl. CCLXXXVI, no.3154). The bodhisattva wearing a turban with a motif allied to the full-fledge age of Gandhara art and exhibit its tie with jewelry with a lion motif (Schmidt 1990).

In the Gupta period, kirtimukha is seen on the turban of bodhisattva housed in Lucknow museum (Fabregues 1991 Footnote. 67, P.290, and Foucher 1905-1951, AGBG, II, fig. 45). Bodhisattva in dhyana mudra, from Loriyan Tangai, is wearing a turban of twisted self-restraining bands that seems emerging from lotus cup terminals. Against puffed pleated cockade is a kirtimukha spewing strings of pearls (Schmidt 1990, p. 176). (Fig. 6)

Pl 11. Four armed Harithi from Sahri Bahlol

Pl. 12 Bodhisattva from Butkara
((Faccenna 1962, Vol. II, Pl. CCLXXXVI, no.3154)

A Seated *Buddha*

The representation of an image in turban or headdress is because of Hellenistic impact, as it was the practice of early Greeks to portray their deities on headgears. Foucher believed that the anthropomorphic form of Buddha was based on Greek artistic models (Okar Research). Representation of seated Buddha in a turban was in vogue during fluorescence and was an icon of progress towards enlightenment (Schmidt 1990, p.137). Turban of a bodhisattva from PM is adorned with an image of Buddha seated in dhyana mudra (Pl. 13) and this motif appears on the crests of the turbans from the vicinity of Sahri Bahlol and Julian (Kurita 1962, Vol. II, P. 68, Pl. 173, 174). Head of the bodhisattva found from Sahri- Bahlol shows image three Buddha (Schmidt 2008, p.5, fig. 31a -31c). Avalokitesvara from the Salt range is wearing a turban with a crest adorned with an image of seated meditating Amitabha Buddha (Bopearachchi, P. 246). A more elaborate example of this type of turban is worn by bodhisattva from Gandhara now kept in Filed museum Chicago. In this case crest of the turban shows meditating nimbate Buddha, whereas, pairs of mediating Buddhas symmetrically adorn sides of turbans. This motif may probably depict Panca Jina (Five victorious Buddhas)mandalas (Schmidt 1990, p.198). Images of Buddhas

Pl. 12 Bodhisattva from Peshawar museum

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Of a somewhat later date than the first example is an image from Swāt. Among those in the research body, this image is perhaps the earliest identifiable image of Avalokiteśvara (Padmapāṇi) (Figs. 59, 362). In this example, Avalokiteśvara is shown seated and displaying *abhaya mudrā* with his right hand while holding in his left hand the stem of a partially opened lotus. His turban appears to be of a lozenge weave with a crest emblem sculpted in the form of a tapered, fluted jewel. He wears the conventionalized set of chest necklaces. His earrings are of the large hoop type ornamented with cut jewels. Along with the lion and garland earring, this type of jeweled hoop was very much in fashion for Bodhisattva images during the mature period.

Fig. 59.

Fig. 60.

The third example, an image from Loriyān Tangai, is quite similar to and perhaps from the same atelier as the previous figure (Figs. 60, 363). This sculpture is of a seated Bodhisattva with his hands positioned *dhyāna mudrā*. His headdress, similar to that worn by the image of Avalokiteśvara from Swāt, is of what appears to be a lozenge weave secured by three twisted restraining bands which originate from small lotus-cup terminals. Apparently attached to the middle band at the sides are open-faced flower roundels. Above a wrapped base, a large, round cockade of pleated fabric is ornamented with a lotus roundel and *simha-mukha* emblem from the mouth of which fall multiple strands of beads. Consistent with developments of the mature phase of the Buddhist tradition in the northwest, the Bodhisattva's earrings are of the lion type that suspends jewel garlands between their paws.[45]

Fig.6 (Schmidt 1990, fig.60)

Pl. 13 Turban showing kirtimukha

and bodhisattvas are also seen on pectorals as is in the case of a pectoral found from the Salt Range (Bopearachchi, Fig. 1)

The symbol of Buddha in the headdress is identified with Avalokitesvara in the Buddhist art of India. According to Yuvraj Krishan "The effigy of Buddha in the mukuta of the statues represent the prized diety of the donor gets support from many so-called Bodhisattva sculptures from Mathura (Krishna 1996, Pl.27b) containing the effigy of Buddha in their crown" (Krishna 1996, p.59). Fabregues quotes M. T.de Mallmann that images of Dhyani Buddha in turbans of bodhisattvas identify them to be Avalokitesvara (Fabregues 1991, p.295) (Bopearachchi, P. 239). Moreover, ancient literature Amitayur- Buddhanusmrti - sutra, Lokesvara- calaka, Karandavyuha sutra says Avalokitesvara carries on his head omniscient being (Fabregues 1991, p 295). In Tibet, Nepal, and China this motif is noticed on headdresses known as Vajrasattva headdresses (Huntington 2003, p.224, Cat. 60,61,62).

Surya driving a *biga*

Headdress with Surya driving chariot is worn by Bodhisattva Suryaprabha (Huntington) (Fig. 7). The sun god symbolizes Greek Helios, Iranian Mithra, and Indian Surya. This divinity is represented in Gandhara art too often, clad in Scythian attire and driving his quadriga (Lohuizen-de Leeuw, p.42). The cult of Sun worship was Indian as well as nomadic tradition. Mural paintings in the caves of Bamiyan and Kakrak show Sun God standing on a chariot pulled by white horses (Bopearachchi, P.246)

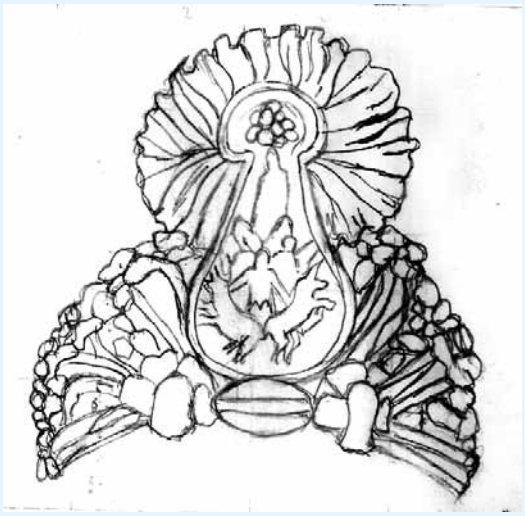

Fig. 7 Turban showing Surya driving biga

The ornaments on the sides of Turban

Both sides of the turban are symmetrically ornamented with gems, floral motifs, discs, the string of pearls, and themes in Gandhara.

Kirtimukha

Lion protome symmetrically adorns sides of turbans in Gandhara. Kiritimukha vomiting string of beads is noticed on the turban of a bodhisattva from Mardan(Pl. 13) and Panchika at Jamalgarhi (Zwalf 1996, Vol. II,p.58, Pl.90). Based on open mouth and profile view Schmidts compares kirtimukha with mythological makras issuing strings of pearls on Bharhut stupa, as a show of riches (Schmidt 1990, p.194).

Centaurs bifide tritons and celestial beings

An unusual motif is seen on the sides of the turban of a bodhisattva from LM (Schmidt 2008, Fig. 26 a, b). Sides of turbans are adorned with fragmented pairs of tritons and centaurs, whereas the crest is

ornamented with an eagle abducting loving couple. There is no reference in ancient literature which could interpret this iconography, whereas there are numerous references to nagas and garudas (Schmidt 1990, p.196). Other interesting celestial figures appear on the turban of a bodhisattva from the Peshawar museum. In this case, both sides of turbans are adorned with heavenly figures carrying garland, and figures in Anjali mudra are seated on a lotus throne (Schmidt 1990, p.196, figs. 90, 91). These figures could be compared with attendants on relief from Peshawar and Lahore museum (Schmidt 1990, p. 196).

Winged dragon like animals

Dragons and gryphon are the most popular of all mythical beasts used in jewelry that ensure security from evil powers and infliction of magic. Dragon is vahana of Vairocana (the white Buddha) in Buddhism (Robert 1996, p.72). Winged dragon-like animals are seen on profusely ornamented turbans. Bodhisattva from Mardan is adorned with skull cap turban having distinct Usnisa, the turban is prepared by crisscrossing three twisted bands tie-up inside knot making double ornamented panniers positioned with a knot shape ornament in center front. Tiny cords of beads dangle from both sides. Sashes of remaining fabric are fixed with ornamental terminals in the shape of lions having high curvy back and wings in the shape of acanthus. The residual place is ornamented with round stones in bezel and cords of beads (Pl. 13). Outside of Gandhara standing horned lions are seen on the turban of a bodhisattva from Mathura (Mallmann 1948, pp.224, 308 Pl. II a).

These animals have a comparison with the symbol of the gryphon and other beasts as heraldic lions, and birds with spread wings. As per Schmidt " The arching of the spine and flowing lines of torso and hips of the winged lion forms on the turban plaque exhibits features reminiscent of the feline forms seen on several Scythian manufactures." (Schmidt 1990, p. 191). The motif of Chinese dragon first surfaced in Neolithic carving dated to the 5th millennium BC and are conceived as a one of earliest representational symbol of mankind (Robert 1996, p.69). Roundel in the shape of a winged lion dated to 6th-5th Century BC is the representation of Achaemenid Persian animal style (Pl. 14). Similar animals are seen in Scythian art and V.A. llyinskaya thinks that these motifs were included in the zoomorphic style of Scythians by the impact of ancient Eastern art (Neva 2008, p. 21). In folk fables of Japan, dragons possess auspicious rank contrary to West where they are considered obnoxious (Clayton 2018, p.3).

Pl. 14 Winged lion roundel (CAIS Images of Ancient Iran Available at: http://www.caissoas.com/CAIS/virtual_museum/achaemenid/Artefacts/metalwork.htm, Accessed 28 March, 2019.

Conclusion

In Gandhara turban, itself was a symbol of higher rank, glory, hegemony, and sovereignty. It was a part and parcel of royal couture and kings wore profusely decorated turbans while positioned on thorns and participating in religious ceremonies. Turbans secured immense religious value as usnia which means

ahead like turbans are one among many attributes that alienate a Mahapurusha from a commoner (Krishna 1996). The repository of Gandhara art is replete with majestic images of bodhisattvas wearing turbans ornamented with pearls, gems, jewels, and a variety of motifs. So turbans along with fulfilling the utilitarian purpose of protecting the head from the blazing heat of the sun also determined an individual's caste, religion, social status, and sect.

In Gandhara, artists invested spiritual and religious ideas of showing reverence to a specific deity and exalt spiritual and secular ideas of pursuing them to shower bounties and protection to mortals in jewelry and headdresses. As a devotee wearing a turban with the image of the deity was a reflection of his devotion, faith, and love to it. Flowers adorning headdresses in Gandhara were associated with flowers from heaven. Turbans offer space to portray mythical legends and jataka stories. Mythical creatures like kiritimukha, winged dragons, tritons, etc are benevolent beings offering protection to wearers.

The human instinct of seeking protection from the wrath of demons in form of the disease, flood, and other calamities can be well-read in ornaments they wore. Ancient people wore amulets and to animate that piece of jewelry with spirit and magical power they would imply it with an image. The same is the case of implied themes and motifs in turbans. Jewelers and artists invested the motifs, myths, epos, and themes, in objects of adornment, which they witnessed popular among the people of society they belong to. That why, center front, as well as sides of turbans in Gandhara, are adorned with the choicest of jewels, roundels, flower receptacles, and themes.

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